GUILDHALL LONDON. No. 11. 141.

A

BRIEF NARRATIVE

Of that

Stupendious Tragedie

Late intended to be Acted by the Satanical *SAINTS* of these Reforming Times.

Humbly presented to the KINGS most *EXCELLENT MAJESTY.*

ALSO

An Impartial Account of the Indictment, Arraignment, Tryal and Condemnation of *Thomas Tonge, George Phillips, Francis Stubbs, James Hind, John Sallers,* and *Nathaniel Gibbs,* At *Iustice-Hall* in the *Old-Baily, London, Decemb.* 11. 1662.

Together with the Confessions, Speeches and Prayers of

George Phillips, | *Nathaniel Gibbs,*
Thomas Tonge, | *Francis Stubbs.*

at the place of Execution, on *Munday* Decemb. 22. 1662.

Exactly taken in Short-Hand Characters, by the same Person that wrote the late Kings Iudges Tryals.

LONDON,

Brief

Licenſed and Entred

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THE NARRATIVE PRESENTED TO The Kings most Excellent Majestie.

May it please your Majesty,

ON Sunday October the 12th 1662. I came to London for dispatch of my own private Affairs: On Thursday following the 16th of the same month, walking through Cheap-side, I met one commonly called by the name of Captain Baker, then living in East-smithfield, formerly of New-England; but more lately promoted by Hugh Peters (not long since Hanged and Quartered for many Treasons) to be one of Cromwels Yeomen of his Guard; we remained not long in the Street, but he gave me an invitation to bestow upon me my welcom to Town, which I accepted; and by that means I had the opportunity of Discourse. After we had saluted each other, he proceeded to ask me what News from the Country; I told him we heard little; In the Town, he replyed, there was some Stirring, and that he had Matters of Concernment in hand to follow, with several others, who did hope ere long to be delivered from that Trumpery of Rome that did daily incroach upon the Nation. Some more words to this effect passed from him; I considering what a desperate Enemy to the King, and all the Ministry of the Land, this man had been; and though he was but an illiterate and rough-hewn fellow, yet in New-England he might be sufficiently possessed wi h villanous Principles; and I knowing also, that the chiefest Designers against the Kings Majesty had confidence enough to intrust him with matters of moment: upon this, I modestly put my self upon the sifting of him. He being not suspitious in the least of my fidelity, and knowing how forward my Father had been to promote that Devil that Geneva Good-Old-Cause: and supposing that I was a Non-Conformist, because I was no in a Canonical Habit, he at last told me, That before a few Weeks were expired, he did not doubt but that both of us should see the slaughter and confusion of those Rogues at Whitehall; And that it did grieve his heart, to see that Villain (meaning the King) and Prince Rupert to ride not long since through the City, with a few men with them (which was when (as Baker said) He rode a Hunting,) when the said Baker, would have been one of the Twenty that should have murdered Him, and have delivered this Nation from the Tyranny of an Outlandish Dog. I perceiving the temper of the man to be so high, thought he would not be so bold, unlesse he had some perswasions that the GODLY PARTY should Once more reign over thi kingdom: Whereupon I began to undervalue his Assertion of Confounding the Rogues at Whitehall; and certified him, there was no such Expectation in the Country, but the Parliament Party there were heartless; only this, that our Eyes were upon the City, and if any hopes of Re-

His Reply was, that if I would come along with him, the said Baker, at that present time, he did not doubt, but he should meet with some friends, that in these matters would give me better satisfaction; I answered him, I had not leisure then, but on the morrow, or any other time, I would gladly accompany them, and understand somwhat of those Negotiations; because it concerned us all to yield our best Council and assistance to that work; whereupon he promised to bring some persons with him suddenly to my Lodging for that purpose.

October 17. Upon the Friday following towards night, the said Baker came to my Lodging in Smithfield, and brought three other persons with him enquiring for me; but it being late before I came home, they departed: and Baker with two of the aforesaid three promised to come early on the Saturday morning, which two persons accordingly came; but Baker failing, and they being not acquainted with me, they let me depart the House after I came out of my chamber without the least Greeting.

Upon the Munday following being the 20th of October, early in the morning the said Baker visited me, excusing his neglect on the Saturday before, telling me that he had brought 3. persons of Eminency the last Friday night, to give me some intelligence of matters in hand, but they having not the happinesse to see me then, had engaged him to come this morning to me, desiring I would come with him to the Exchange, and in the New-England walk he should find those three persons waiting for us.

I consented, asking their quality and their names. He Answered that one of them was a choyce person, Zealous and active in the Cause, which was Mr. Edward Riggs, formerly Chaplain to Blake; the other was Bradely, formerly a faithfull Messenger to Cromwels Council of State, the other was one Hill a Drawer of Cloth in Coleman-street and a Church Member.

All which persons betwixt twelve and one I met on the Exchange; assoon as I beheld their Aspect, I presently adjudged them of that party. After Baker had informed them that I was as good as themselves, and my Father a publick Person that may Advance the Cause in the Country, we saluted, and all of us Resolved to have some Godly Communication, at the Sign of the Ship by the East India House in Leaden Hall street.

The man of the house, as the said Hill the Drawer of Cloth informed, though he was a Trained Souldier, yet was truly honest to the Godly Party.

And our Conference there, was all of Gods Glory; in Zeal we were up to the Eyes; and I began exactly to speak their Language; and especially to fit Riggs with expressions sutable to his Tone, because I found him the most intelligent person amongst them, and the Darling of the Churches. After much circumlocution I had insinuated into Riggs a good opinion of me, that our Souls were as David and Jonathans; Then downright we came to the businesse, and Riggs assured me; (I having certified him of our ignorance of it in the Country, yet we were unwilling not to be numbered among the Repairers of Zion, to look on and not help our Brethren.) Then he was sick untill he had satisfied me of the happy reconciliation of all the Sects and Churches; and that Six most excellent Persons, wishing well to all Parties, and tender of every little fry of Locusts, were elected by general consent to manage and contrive the Design of reducing us to a Free-State, and to Surprise the King in Whitehall, my Lord Chancellor, my Lord Duke of Albemarle, and Major General Sir Richard Brown. And that they had protested secrecy by lifting up their hands to Almighty God, and

And to that end several Messengers, being Church-members, were directed into the Country; and all persons of that Interest were resolved to acquiesce in what they should Act, and prepare as those Six should direct.

To insist much on particulars, Riggs *with the rest were somewhat shy that afternoon; but we appointed to meet on the morrow at the same place of the* Exchange.

Tuesday *I met* Riggs, Bradley, Baker, James Hill, *and to our goodly society came one Capt.* Brown *a Sea Captain dwelling in* VVapping, *and* James Hinde *a Gunner to a ship. It was long, because so much company was there, before our good Discourse of the Work of God begun; yet at last* Riggs *could no longer detain it from his new Brother: but taking me aside, assured me that this Work was long intended, that Intelligence came in agreeable to expectation from the Counties, that he the said* Riggs *was intended once to be one of those six; but he had engaged himself in businesse in a Brewhouse in Town that he could not defer; but he was very instrumental in encouraging honest men to the Work, and in satisfying the Fifth-monarchy men, who would have undertaken the Work themselves; and then 'twas his Work with several others, to put a stop to it, untill all parties were agreed; and though the Presbyter would not be active, yet he doubted not, but many of them were consenting to the Work. But if I would meet him, the said* Riggs, *on the* VVednesday *night late, I should have better information; for the six persons in Council sate so obscure, not twice in a place, all disguized, and were resolved to act it so secret, that no person, Friend or Foe, except two persons, should know where or when they met, or whom they were. But Lieutenant* Strange *would come to town that* VVednesday, *and he, the said* Riggs, *should meet him, and give me full information. For the meeting I gave him my faithfull promise, and this time I had understanding of somewhat formidable; then I began to consider with my self the consequence of this Design, and how desperate the Rogues were in their Attempts, that here was a full Combination, and I believed the zeal of these Rogues was such, that they had no Design of Trepanning me. I consulted my self how I should proceed wisely and timely enough for their Discovery. I presently meditated, that this was to be acted in the City, and that the Kings Majesty had intrusted Major General* Brown *with the care of the City, and that he was of an active spirit, and quick in counsel, I immediately attended him, and had sutable Instructions from him, where by the next day, being* Thursday, *I was as full of matter for them as they were of villany to their Prince and Country.*

But VVednesday *night I attended* Riggs *for the News that* Strange *should impart, and then I was informed by him, that some Moneths since there was a* Southampton *man that had offered his service to the Churches in* London, *with a new Model of Government for their Saintships, when they had rooted out the* Amorites *from among st them; and also a Plot for them to act, whereby they should ease themselves from the Government of that Antichristian thing called Monarchy. But his counsel was rejected, as the Committee of Safety rejected Sir* Henry Vanes; *whereupon he sold his Estate and took ship for* Holland, *but now Mr.* Rogers *the Minister was* [illegible] *and several Army-officers resident there, for their assistance her[illegible]shes were made for the exceeding earnest I was to know those six persons in Council, R[illegible]wo thousand Horsmen; solve, but he was sure (though he heard others nominated) yet not to seek as to the work*

that they had sat lately at the VVheat-sheaf in Thames-street concerning the busines. Thursday being October the 23d. their Brother failed not to meet them at the Ship in Leadenhall-street.

Then in short, from Riggs and Hinde I was confidently assured VVindsor Castle was their own, 500. men were fixed in and about VVindsor, the Serjeants and Head Gunner were Right Boyes, and Captain Tonge had been with the Serjeants there, and brought a Letter to be communicated to the Council from the Serjeants of their fidelity. That all the Churches in London were concerned in it, that now their Money did fly, and the Churches were able to raise twelve thousand, if not twenty thousand, to pay their grand Adversaries in VVhitehall, at Somerset-house, and VVorcester-house, and to be sure, never a Lawn Sleeve or Circingle-man should have a hole to hide their heads in this Nation.

Four hundred Assistants, Riggs affirmed, in Dorsetshire, they were ascertained of, and that several Cases of Pistols were sent down by a Carrier into that Country.

Riggs acquainted us then, that in a Warehouse in Crutchet-fryers, Arms were lodged, and there five hundred had been dispersed to those that were not able to buy them; that they intended to make a desperate Assault in VVhitehall, and one party should attempt it by coming in at the Gate into St. James his Park to assault my Lord Duke of Albemarle, whom they must presently dispatch, because, when the King was destroyed, he had power as Lord General to raise Forces by his Commission in any part of the Nation.

Also when I put the question concerning the King, what we should do with him? Riggs answered, That then they were resolved to give no quarter to any body.

Likewise, and it shall please Your Majesty, that Ludlow was to be General, and the same Law he should have had; the same, the best or highest of their enemies should have. Many Friends in Kent looked for the blessed hour; and when I asked who should command them there, Riggs answered, Col. Kenrick, for he was sure the Council had sent him Instructions yesterday by a Messenger, that he had sent to them for the same. Also, that there lodged a Lieutenant at the Wheat-sheaf in Thames-street, that had 500 men at command for this work, he being formerly a Sea Commander, and was safe in that Lodging, because it was Lamberts mans house, who was their trusty and wellbeloved friend.

The same night Baker, formerly mentioned, brought into my company, one Hayward a pitifull young Porter, that plieth about Bow-lane end, in Cheapside, that was formerly of Okeys Regiment, and that affirmed to me, three or four and twenty of their Cheapside Porters, would knock it soundly, when the day of rising was.

Likewise Riggs asserted, that one Ward a Chandler in East-Smithfield, did furnish the Magazines with much Powder, and sent it by honest Porters in Baskets in white Sheets.

Likewise that that day Mr. Brooks the Minister was numbring out the fair hfull- his Congregation, and those that could not help with their holy ir purse: And also, that Riggs was positive, that if they could dth Churches to have expended their money, the work had pro-

Sir Richard Brown *for Arms, for thirty men I had made sure of, which Arms were promised me, because I would know where their Magazine was. Answer was given by* Riggs, *That he had proposed it to Captain* Tonge, *Strong-water-seller in Tower-Ditch. And* Tonge *replyed, That no Arms would be delivered me, unless I was a Church-member. But* Riggs *and my self, meeting one* Sellers *on the* Exchange, Riggs *presently acquaints him with my desire.* Sellers *replyed, That all, which were five or six hundred, were delivered out last night, and that forty of their Friends departed last night unfurnished; but in three or four dayes some more would be brought to the Magazine at* Crutched-Friers, *and then I should have them.*

Some persons, who are Citizens, were discovered this day: but at night, Riggs, Ward *the Chandler, Lt.* Stubbs, Bradley, Baker, *and* James Hind, *were all associated at Captain* Tonges *house in Tower-Ditch;* Ward *being a cunning St. Rogue was reserved as I heard after, because I was a stranger to him: But* Tonge *couraged us, that one Captain* Elton *told him, that Lieutenant* Strange *came out of the Country last night, from lodging the horses in several by-places, and corresponding with several Agents there; and the work proceeded gallantly in City and Country; and that for* 14. *miles round the City, all their friends were ready, waited but for the knowledge of the day. And for the surprizal of the Tower,* Tonge *said, he had fixed many of the Red Coats to open a back Gate, and with Blunderbusses to enter. Also that Captain* Leigh *had also been with* Tonge *last night, and assured him, that those that sate in counsel, intended speedy action.*

Saturday, Octob. 25. Bradley *and my self, visited* Riggs *at his house, and there he had this comfort for us, That the Commanders were all nominated;* Ludlow *certainly to be their General: That Captain* Spencer *and* Taverner, *formerly Governors of the Castles in* Kent, *commanding the Sea, had assured the Council of the surprizal of those Castles by their interest there. Then was several Copies of the Letter given forth by direction of the Council, to be noised through the City, the Contents of which Letter was,* That the Forces and Papists at *Whitehall,* did intend a massacre in the City of all the Protestant party: *The copy whereof I have.*

Riggs *then assured us, A man that he knew was to be assistant at the assault at* Whitehall, *that would bring the party to the Treasuries at* Whitehall, *and elsewhere. But for money, large sums were in Bank of their own, notwithstanding that, all Treasuries must be seized; and at* Whitehall, *with my Lord Chancellor and his Attendants at* Worcester-house; *also St.* James, *Somerset-house, no quarter should be given: But their indignation swelled highly against my Lord General* Monk, *and Sir* Richard Brown, *they should die (who ever escaped) without mercy; and then when Sir* Richard *was slain, the City was their own.*

Captain Tonge *this day certified us, that* Strange *was again gone into the Country, but his return was this night, then more particular news we should have: But to morrow being Sunday, at the several meetings they intended to whisper the appointed time of Insurrection to each other.*

Riggs *then affirmed with* Tonge, *that many new Blunderbusses were made for the Design; and that they had Head-peeces, Back and Brest, for Two thousand Horsmen; and that Capt. Leigh told him, the said* Riggs, *that they were not to seek as to the work*

This night Tonge boasted to me, that he was to go to a Cane-man, who had bought Arms for six men for this design, at his own cost and charge.

Sunday and Munday last, our Information from them was, That all the Horse that formerly departed the Town, were to return by Munday night; that their Declaration was ready, founded on Righteous Principles, to the compleat satisfaction as much as the Holy Sisters.

And on the Munday, Riggs and my self saluted Serjeant Phillips, Serjeant to Col. Whales Company of the Militia Bands, for his good Service on the Sunday morning, in sending Intimation to several places where the Godly had their Meetings of their intended surprisal, by the Major General; which Sergeant, as Tonge and Riggs informed me, was to furnish the Party with the Word that were to secure the City; and upon the Sunday when he was on the Guard, he wished their Party were up; for he thought a few would do the work. The Arms that Tonge and Hind hath provided for this design, as they say, I have seen.

And one Captain Brown, a Sea Captain, must needs discover himself also; that he had sold his Ship, on purpose, that he may fight stoutly in this work on Land.

Tuesday Octob. 28. Our Intelligence from Riggs, and one Beazley by Fleetbridge a Chandler, that the Council was dissolved, 2000 Horse came into the Town yesterday, that Wednesday night was originally intended to be the fatal night, although they had now fixed another time.

On Tuesday night late, I was carried by Riggs and Beazley, with Lt. Stubbs into Black Friers, into a House, the Sign thereof I know not, but the House I know, where we had Intelligence from one Gibbs, and other persons, their Names I could not learn, that the Council were to meet again Wednesday morning. Some intelligence the Council had of Arms and Ammunition, the City had provided in the several Halls; and because it was commonly reported about the Town, the Lord Mayors day at night would be the time; whereupon they all supposed Alhallows Even; and those persons that were with us, were somewhat assured would be the time; and we were all desired to prepare against that time. There and then Gibbs, Riggs, Captain Thomas in Shoo-lane, Lt. Stubs, and three other persons, assured us, that that Even, or neer, would be the time we should cut off Root and Branch, rid our selves, as their expression was, of Kings, Queenes, Dukes, Bishops; all should go one way, there should be no running beyond Sea, or Parleys there; but a total destruction of King, Lords, Bishops and Gentry, was the determination of them there, and as they affirmed, of all the rest engaged in the Work.

The several dayes Intelligence, I committed to faithful Sir Richard Brown; from whom I received full instruction every night.

On Tuesday, Sir Richard Brown, and Sir John Robinson, ordered me to go along with the Soldiers to take Riggs, Hind, Tonge, Stubbs, &c. White the Caneman, who were all apprehended accordingly.

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William Hill.

An Impartial Narrative of the Indictment, Arraignment, Tryal, and Sentence of Thomas Tonge, George Phillips, Francis Stubbs, James Hind, John Sallers, *and* Nathaniel Gibbs, *at* Justice-Hall *in the* Old-Baily, *London*, Decemb. 11. 1662.

THE Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* being read, and Proclamation made the Grand Jury were sworn, whose Names are,

Arthur Jourdan	*George Compere*	*William Standen*
John Freestone	*Isaac Rutter*	*John Worth*
Thomas Fawson	*Chr. Rigby*	*John Rigby*
Thomas Coney	*Rowland Steed*	*Leonard Staples.*

And several witnesses being called, there appeared *William Hill*, *Edward Riggs*, *Tyler*, *Godolphin*, *Bonfoy*, and several others; who being all sworn, were directed up to the Grand Jury.

After some hours examination of the Witnesses, and consultation, the Grand Jury returned the Indictment *Billa vera.*

Clerk of the Peace. You good men of the City of *London*, summoned to appear here this day, to enquire between our Soveraign Lord the King, and the Prisoners that are and shall be at the Bar, answer to your Names as you shall be called, every one at their first Call, upon pain and peril that shall fall thereon; Good men of the Ward of, *&c.*

Serjeant *Glyn*, Serjeant *Maynard*, His Majesty's Serjeants at Law, Sir *Jeoffry Palmer* Attorney General, Sir *Heneage Finch*, His Majesty's Solicitor, Serjeant *Keeling*, His Majesty's Serjeant, Sir *Edward Turnor*, taking their places in Court.

The Prisoners were commanded to be set to the Bar.

Clerk of the Peace. Thomas Tonge, hold up thy hand; *George Philips*, hold up thy hand; *Francis Stubbs*, hold up thy hand; *James Hinde*, hold up thy hand; *John Sallers*, hold up thy hand; and *Nathaniel Gibbs*, hold up thy hand. Which they severally doing, their Indictment was read, the substance whereof is as followeth, *viz.*

YOu the Prisoners that were last called to the Bar, stand indicted in *London* by the names of *Thomas Tonge*, late of *London* Distiller; *George Phillips*, late of *London* Yeoman; *Francis Stubbs*, late of *London* Cheese-monger; *James Hind*, late of *London* Gunner; *John Sallers*, late of *London* Compass maker, and *Nathaniel Gibbs*, late of *London* Felt-maker; for that you six, together with divers others, particularly in the Indictment mentioned, and others not yet taken, as false Traytors to the Illustrious, Serene, and most Excellent Prince *Charles* the Second, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland* King, Defendor of the Faith, *&c.* minding, and with all their force intending the Peace and Tranquillity of this Kingdom of *England* so disturb, and our said Soveraign Lord the King to death and final destruction to bring, and put, the 31*th.* day of *October*, in the Fourteenth year of the Reign of our said Soveraign Lord King

Charles the Second, traiterouſly did compaſs, imagine and intend the killing of our ſaid Soveraign Lord the King, and the antient Government of this Kingdom of *England* to change [as in the Indictment more particularly was mentioned.

What ſayeſt thou *Thomas Tonge*, art thou guilty of this High Treaſon in manner and form as thou ſtandeſt indicted, or not guilty?

Tonge. Not guilty.

Clerk. How wilt thou be tryed?

Tonge. By God and my Countrey.

Clerk. What ſayeſt thou *George Phillips*, art thou guilty? *&c.*

Phill. I am guilty in hearing, and not diſcovering of it.

Clerk. Art thou guilty of this High Treaſon whereof thou ſtandeſt indicted?

Phill. I am guilty, but not in manner and form as I ſtand indicted; I have heard the words, as I formerly confeſſed to Sir *Richard Brown*: not guilty, as to the manner and form.

Clerk. How wilt thou be tryed?

Phill. By God and my Countrey.

Clerk. How ſayeſt thou *Francis Stubbs*, art thou guilty? *&c.*

Stub. Not guilty.

Clerk. How wilt thou be tryed?

Stub. By God and my Countrey.

Clerk. What ſayeſt thou *James Hind*, art thou guilty? *&c.*

Hind kneeling down, and diſcovering much penitency, anſwered, I am guilty, and humbly beg mercy of his Majeſty.

Court. Record his Confeſſion.

Clerk. How ſayeſt thou *John Sallers*, art thou guilty? *&c.*

Sall. Not guilty.

Clerk. How wilt thou be tryed?

Sall. By God and the Countrey.

Clerk How ſayeſt thou *Nathaniel Gibbs*, art thou guilty? *&c.*

Gibbs. Not guilty.

Cler. How wilt thou be tried?

Gibbs. By God and the Countrey.

Court. Carry up *Hind* to the Gaole.

And the reſt ſtanding at the Bar, ſilence was commanded.

Cler. Thomas Tonge, George Phillips, Francis Stubbs, John Sallers, and *Nathaniel Gibbs*; You the Priſoners that were laſt called to the Bar, thoſe men that you ſhall hear called, are to paſs upon trial for your ſeveral lives and deaths; if you or any of you will challenge them or any of them, you muſt challenge them when they come to the Book to be ſworn, before they be ſworn.

Edmond Butler.

Tonge. I challenge him, but afterwards admitted him.

Clerk. Edmond Butler, Clement Punge, George Dixon, Samuel Pain, John Bagnal, John Gourney, William Gayler, Ralph Silverton, William Dudley, Joſeph Drake, John Peake and *Robert Morrice* were ſeverally ſworn in this manner; Lay your hand on the Book, look upon the Priſoners: You ſhall well and truly try, and true deliverance make between our Soveraign Lord the King and the Priſoners at the Bar, whom you ſhall have in charge according to your Evidence. So help you God.

Clerk. Count theſe *Cryer. Edmond Butler; Cryer*, one. *Clement Punge*, two, *&c.* Twelve good men and true, ſtand together and hear your Evidence.

Clerk. Cryer, make Proclamation;

Cryer.

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Cryer. O Yes, If any one can inform my Lords the Kings Juſtices, the King, Serjeants, or the Kings Attorney, before this Inqueſt be taken, let them come forth and they ſhall be heard; for now the Priſoners ſtand at the Bar upon their Deliverance; and all others that are bound by Recognizance to give Evidence againſt any of the Priſoners at the Bar, come forth and give Evidence, or elſe you forfeit your Recognizance; and all manner of perſons that were ſummoned upon the Jury, and have not yet been ſworn, they are diſcharged, and may depart the Court.

Clerk. Tho. Tonge, Hold up thy hand, and ſo to the reſt of them at the Bar: You of the Jury, Look upon the Priſoners, and hearken to their Cauſe, you ſhall underſtand that they ſtand indicted in *London* by the names of *Tho. Tonge*, late of *&c.* and ſo as in the Indictment aforementioned, who together with *James Hind* who ſtands convicted by his own confeſſion, and the reſt alſo aforementioned, and ſo reads the Indictment again.

Upon which Indictment they have been Arraigned, and thereunto have ſeverally pleaded, Not Guilty; and for their Trial have put themſelves upon God and the Country, which Country you are; Your charge is to enquire whether they be guilty of the High Treaſon in manner and form as they ſtand Indicted, or not guilty; If you find that they or any of them are guilty, you ſhall enquire what Goods and Chattels, Lands and Tenements, they or any of them had at the time of committing the ſaid Treaſon, or at any time ſithence: If you find that they are not guilty, you ſhall enquire whether they or any of them did flee for it; if you find that they fled for it, you ſhall enquire of their Goods and Chattels, *&c.* as if you had found them guilty; if you find that they are not guilty, nor that they did flee; Say ſo, and no more, and hear your Evidence.

Sir *Edward Turner.* MAy it pleaſe your Lordſhips, and you Gentlemen that are ſworn of this Jury, The 5. Priſoners at the Bar by the name of *T. Tonge*, *G. Phillips*, *F. Stubbs*, *J. Sallers*, and *N. Gibbs*, do ſtand indicted for that they as falſe Traytors, together with ſeveral other perſons mentioned in the Indictment, the 31. of *Octob.* laſt, did, in the Pariſh of St. *Michaels* in the Ward of *Cornhill London*, aſſemble and meet together, conſult, contrive and deſign to levy War againſt the King, to ſubvert and change the Government as it is now eſtabliſhed, to depoſe and kill the King; and in order to effect this, they did likewiſe then and there agree and deſign to ſeize and take in their hands, the Kings royal Palace called *Whitehall*, where the King reſides, for this they have been indicted, arraigned, and all theſe five have ſeverally pleaded not Guilty: if we prove them guilty, you muſt find them ſo.

Serjeant *Maynard.* GEntlemen of the Jury, you have heard the Indictment read, you have heard the ſubſtance of it opened, it is ſhort in words, but of as high conſequence as any thing can be; I ſhall open the Particulars of that Evidence, that we conceive will be made good by the Oaths of Witneſſes to be produced to you: You ſee here what the Indictment is, I ſhall inſiſt upon

these particulars, which I shall open and make good to you; first, what was their Design, next what was their means of accomplishment, what encouragements they used one to another, and what colours they put upon this wicked action; For the first, Gentlemen, I shall begin at the highest, higher no man can go in this world, that is, to design and compass, to contrive to put the King himself to death, to seize his person; some of them called it Securing; you know the English of that, A King secured; We will go further, for we shall prove to you the person that with his own wicked Hand undertook the slaughter and Murder of the King; he did contrive how he might do it, sometimes when the King was performing an office of Piety to visit his Mother, other times when he should recreate himself by Hunting; higher then this they could not go, and this they coloured over with Religion; this mercifull King that had pardoned his People beyond their own desires, and contended to do it; this King they would murder. Had there been no more, it had been exceeding hainous; but they went further, their malice rested not upon His Person, but the Family, the noble and excellent Duke of *York* is designed to be secured likewise, and used like his Brother; not they only, they went further, the whole Nobility was in design; not (Gentlemen) that every one of these before you used these Expressions, but they and their Complices, some one and some another Expression; but all joyned in this, to destroy the King and his Family root and branch, that was their Expression: King, his Family, Nobility, nay, go down to the Gentry, and it ceased not there, they go to the Clergy, as one of the Prisoners at the Bar (as you will hear) did express himself, I think it was *Stubbs*, that there should be never a Lawn-Sleeve, never a Circingler should have a hole to hide his head in.

Stubbs. I never opened my mouth to that purpose.

Serj. *Maynard.* That will be left to proof, I undertake not of my self to prove this, but to open it, let the Witnesses speak. In discourse some went further than that, whosoever would not joyn with them in their Design (it was one *Strange*) was an Enemy; and thereupon one *Cole*, who is gone, deserted them, though he was contented to have the King murdered, the Nation ruined, yet would not agree in that Principle. To accomplish this, we shall prove to you they did treat of levying a War, that among themselves it was given out that Arms were provided, some delivered; and their Designs to raise Money, seizing all the Treasury at *Whitehall*, *Worcester-house*, and the Chamber of *London*; to seize the person of the noble Duke of *Albemarle*, and all about him, and Quarter to be given to none, that was their Expressi-

ons

ons. They did give out among themselves (for a while there was some difference among those Foxes, whose Tails were tied together, and had fire in them) and *Tonge* told them (as we shall prove) that all parties were now agreed and would joyn; they had framed Declarations to justifie their proceedings, framed Papers to raise a Mutiny among the Mariners, and encouraged them to joyn with them, this will be proved: for their means, *Phillips* at the Bar undertakes to procure the Word that the Guard in the City had, so to betray them. There was a Design made for seizing the Tower, several men appointed for that purpose, they and their Complices were to come there with Papers in their hands as if they were Mariners, and had Accompts to make up, these were to go up to those that sate there to finish Accompts. To encourage themselves they gave out that they had dealt with the Soldiers at *Windsor*, and secured that Castle; if this be proved to you there can nothing be higher; There was this one pretence, it was given out (and perchance the rumours of the City are come to your ears) that they had designed a Day for the Execution of this Mischief; severall dayes were appointed; one on the Lord Maiors Day, another on *Allhallows* Eve: They gave out by a feigned Letter that there would be a Massacre by the *French* and *Papists* of the *Protestants*; this was to raise a fear and discontent among the Nation, to induce them to joyn when this Design should be attempted. Gentlemen of the Jury, had they gone on in this wicked purpose, having possessed the people with these fears, who could have told how to behave himself? And it seems strange and wonderfull, especially looking upon the persons, men of little consideration, despicable men, and who live under the Mercies of so good a Soveraign, that they should take such a Design in their hearts, and undertake the performance: Though the Spear hath not entred into the Sides of our Soveraign, yet it must needs crown his Head with abundance of Thorns, that such people should be desperately wicked. But we shall call our Witnesses, and when you have heard this proved, we cannot be so uncharitable to think you shall need any further Aggravation, or doubt of your giving a Verdict against such Miscreants as these are.

Sir Jeoffry Palmer. THese few Prisoners at the Bar were not all in this Contrivance, though we have not all their names; but in the Evidence you will hear, there was a Council of 40 and then of 6. but none discovered. These 6. acted and infused into these and divers others what they intended, and then broke up, and gave out all was ready, and would be done on such a day. We shall not trouble the Jury with giving evidence particularly against these men, they are joyned and knit together in one Cause. But hear the Evidence.

William

William Hill, *Edward Riggs*, and one *Bradley* were Sworn.

Council. Mr. *Hill*, Speak your knowledge in this buſineſſe, to my Lords and the Jury.

Mr. *Hill.* May it pleaſe your Lordſhips, about the middle of *October* laſt, I met *John Baker*, one that is now Indicted, he was a Captain formerly called; I met him in *Cheapſide*; he meeting me (after a Salutation) invites me to drink with him; I went into a houſe with him. When I was with him he began to ask me what News there was in the Countrey, I told him I had little to inform him. He told me, if I would ſtay a while he would tell me ſome. I asked him of what nature; ſaies he, Not long agoe the King went a Hunting, ſent ſome Stags to Sir *John Robinſon*, now the Lord Mayor, and went but with a ſmall guard, and I could have been one of the twenty that would have ſlain that Outlandiſh Dog; then ſaid I, Mr. *Baker*, that's nothing to me; but what other news have you? Sayes he, I know thou art right, and I know your Father; there is ſomthing on foot in the City, and if you will meet to morrow, I will bring ſome perſons to you that will give you information. Sir, ſaid I, underſtanding it of dangerous conſequence, and willing to get it out, I will meet you, and we agreed to meet the next morning; that morning 3. perſons came early to my quarters, *Hill* the Cloth-drawer, Mr. *Bradley*, and this Mr. *Riggs*, he appointed them to meet him there, but failing himſelf, they being ſtrangers ſaid nothing to me then, and ſo I departed and left them a drinking; the morrow after he himſelf came to my Lodgings, fetches me out of my bed, and tells me he had appointed ſome perſons on the Exchange to give me an account; I went with him thither, and there we met with ſome perſons that were his acquaintance, and from thence we went to the Ship in *Leadenhal-ſtreet*; and among us was *Hind*, that confeſſed himſelf Guilty; and there the buſineſs was fully diſcourſed of, what their intention was, that all intereſts were agreed; *Fifth Monarchy-men*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Independents*, and *Fighting Quakers*, and the Congregational Churches were conſenting, and were reſolved to endeavour their deliverance from Adverſaries at *Whitehal*. Many paſſages more; On the morrow after we met again, and there met with us *Hind*, and *Brown*, and *Baker*; there we were acquainted of their Magazine and Arms provided, and about their correſpondence in the ſeveral Countries, that they were ſure of *Windſor Caſtle*, that the head-Gunner and Sergeant there were privy; we had information concerning this *Tonge*, as an active perſon in this deſign; I ſtudied to know this *Tonge*, and I was brought to him at his houſe; and there I met one *Ward*, *Stubbs*, and *Hind*, and ſome others, and there we had diſcourſe concerning the buſineſs. *Tonge* told us ſomething of the buſineſs of *Windſor Caſtle*, and propoſed ſomething in reference to the taking of the Tower, what Arms and men they had for this deſign; We met many times at the Ship, that *Gibbs* we met at *Bridewell-Dock*, and there was *Stubbs* and one *Bearley* with me; there we waited for a Brother of this *Gibbs*'s to give us intelligence when the day of the Inſurrection would be, we waited not long, but in came his Brother, and two perſons more, one *Thomas* a Bridler or Bit-maker in *Shoot-lane*, and another perſon in a hand ome Garb came along with him; his Brother was ſomewhat ſhy (becauſe I was a ſtranger) to ſpeak any thing, but calls for this *Gibbs* and *Stubbs*, and had ſome private diſcourſe with them, and away departed; after they were gone, we deſired to know the intelligence, they told us, that the Council of 6. was broken up, all buſineſs was ſetled, *Ludlow* was Commander in chief, and *Allhallows* Eve was the time, that Horſe and Arms were provided. For *Phillips*; that day that the meetings were intercepted, that the Trained bands did ſurpize them, that day this Gentleman and I (pointing to *Riggs*) came to the Main Guard at the *Exchange*,

where

where Sergeant *Phillips* was with a Buff Coat, and a Halbert, and this Gentleman (meaning *Riggs*) saluted him, and thanked him for his service in sending down notice to the Meeting to be gone, for he was coming with the Trained bands to surprize them; he asked him what was the occasion of the Bustle, sayes he, they say ——

Sir *Robert Foster*. Who is that he?

Hill. That *Phillips* said, they say they were up in the *West*, and if they were not, I would they were, and here too, for a few would do the work; Upon the Monday after, we met him near the *Exchange*, and so likewise *Riggs* thanked him for his service, and then he (*Phillips*) promised his further service when the time of the Insurrection would be.

For *Sallers*, I was by agreement to have 30 Armes delivered me, and I was very pressing to have the Armes out of the Magazine. *Sallers* met with this Gentleman (*Riggs*) and he urging *Sallers* about the Armes, *Sallers* told him that they were all delivered out the night before, about 5 or 600. and that forty of their friends went away without Armes; but that within 2 or 3 dayes there would be more laid in.

Sir *Heneage Finch*. Mr. *Hill*, I will ask you one question (with my Lords favour) as you have given a general account, I will keep you to one particular person, *Tonge*: Did *Tonge* in any discourse with you, tell you of one *Strange* that was gone into the Country?

Hill. One night he told us he had spoke with *Strange*; that he was gone into the Countrey, and would come back the morrow, and then we should have more intelligence.

Sir *Heneage Finch*. What concerning the Tower and *windsor* Castle?

Hill. He talked of the good service that he had done in being at *windsor* Castle, with the Serjeant and Gunner, for the securing of that Castle; That near five hundred of their friends were in and about *windsor*, ready to assist for surprising that Castle.

Coust. Who told you this?

Hill. *Tonge* told me himself, that he was instrumental in it.

Finch. Did he tell you any thing of the Tower?

Hill. Only he said, it was fit some care should be taken to surprise the Tower at the time.

Finch. Any thing of *Alhallows*-Eve?

Hill. He did not fix the very instant time, but said, he looked for intelligence from *Strange*.

Sir *Jeoffry Palmer*. What day of the moneth was that?

Hill. I cannot remember the very day.

Serjeant *Maynard*. What did he say concerning Declarations?

Hill. The Declaration was ready, *Stubbs* acquainted us, against Popery and Monopolies, for Liberty of Conscience, and a Free Commen-wealth.

Finch. Any thing of the Popish Massacre?

Hill. Yes, I had this Paper of them, a Copy of a Letter.

Sir *R. Foster*. How many Copies of that Letter were to be dispersed in the City?

Hill. About five thousand.

Sir *Jeoffry Palmer*. These things were to be dispersed to possess the people, that the Papists about that time would Massacre the Protestants, that so they might draw all against that Party to joyn with them; a brave colour, when in truth there was no such thing, but only to carry on their design of killing the King, and altering the Government.

The Letter was read by the Clerk, and follows, *in hæc verbis*.

SIR,

SIR, *Ouls of the reſpect which I bear to you in particular, and to the Proteſtant Party in General, I give you notice of this Paſſage; About a fortnight ſince, a woman, which you muſt be ignorant where, who had it from a Correſpondent of the Papiſts, that they intend to make uſe of their Army (which all the World ſees they have provided) againſt* All-hallows *Eve next; It was thought good therefore, in as prudent way as may be, to give notice to our friends in remote parts, that they may do what piety to God, loyalty to their Prince, love to their Country, & ſelf-preſervation ſhould direct them: Sir, I call the Eternal God to witneſs, that this is not to trepan, to put a trick upon you, but a ſober truth; and alſo communicated to a Juſtice of the Peace, & by him to the Privy Council; and what the iſſue of it is I have not heard, I hope you will inquire, and tell us.* From *Yexford* in *Suffolk*, *Octob.* 31. 1662.

Serj *Keeling.* Do you (Mr. *Hill*) remember any diſcourſe of the way of taking *Whitehall*? Name who were there, and who ſpoke.

Hill. There was *Hind*, and one Captain *Browne* a Shooe-maker in the *Strand*, and ſome other perſons.

Council. Was *Stubbs* there?

Hill. Not at this diſcourſe; but we talked of taking *Whitehall* at *Stubbs*'s houſe, when a Sea-Captain was there that was to go to *Saranam*, and *Stubbs* invited him to ſtay at home to aſſiſt them; who was to come down with a Party by *Charing-Croſſe*, and another Party to come up by the Cock-pit, and to kill my Lord Duke of *Albemarle*, and to ſlay Sir *Richard Brown* in the City, and the Party in the City to keep a Drum beating, &c. And *Tonge* ſaid, That their main care muſt be to keep down Sir *Richard Brown*, and the Trained Bands, or elſe they ſhould never be able to ſtand.

Council. What concerning the Privy Garden way?

Hill. They diſcourſed concerning the getting down the Door and the Wall, and ſo get the ſooner to *Whitehall*.

Council. What was *Stubbs*'s opinion at that communication?

Hill. He was at *Black fryers*, the laſt Tueſday night before they were taken, this *Stubbs*, *Thomas*, and *Gibbs*.

Court. Which *Gibbs*?

Hill. This black *Gibbs* at the Bar; they diſcourſed that they would be ſure to make an end of Kings, Princes and Dukes, that they might have a Free State, and troubled no more with any ſuch kind of perſons, neither Lawn Sleeves, nor Cincinglers.

Council. Do you remember that *Stubbs* propoſed any other way to *Whitehall*?

Hill. No, Sir.

Maynard. Did they ſay what Number was provided, ten, or twenty thouſand?

Hill. *Stubbs* aſſured us that there was a great party in *East-Smithfield* right for the work, and had their Arms.

Council. What imployment had *Sallers* about delivering the Arms?

Hill. He ſaid, the Arms were delivered out at *Crutched fryers*, about ſix hundred, and that forty of their Friends went away laſt night for lack of Arms, that within two or three days there would be more.

Council. Did he name a Magazine?

Hill. Yes, the Magazine in *Crutched-fryers*.

Council. Did you know any thing touching the diſcovery of the Word, and by whom?

Hill. No, Sir; but I underſtood that *Tonge* was aſſured by *Phillips*, that *Phillips* would get him the Word that very night that they intended the Inſurrectio

Council. What was propounded, if they had taken the King, what would they do?

Hill. He should have the same Quarter as *Ludlow* was to have.

Court. Who said that? *Hill.* *Stubs*, *Gibbs*, and *Tonge*.

Council. That's three of the Prisoners at the Bar, Lord have mercy upon us.

Council. Were you not acquainted of a Council of Six?

Hill. Yes, they named some at a venture, but they believed some of them were of the Six. That they met not twice in a place, sometimes here, and sometimes in another place.

Council. Who did they name?

Hill. Colonel *Danvers*, *Phillips*, *Nye* the Minister, *Lockyer*, and one *Cole* of *Southampton*, that these Five were part of the Six.

Council. What discourse touching the distance of place where they engaged any?

Hill. Forty miles about the Town.

Council. Did *Tonge* tell you that *Strange* had lodg'd any Horse?

Hill. He said, he had taken out the Horse that were provided for a time, but *Gibbs* and *Stubbs* at *Black-friers* assured us of the Horse coming into the Town the night before.

Council. Did *Tonge* tell you of any Back, Breasts, Blunderbusses?

Hill. Nor he, Sir, it was talked of that night at the *Black-friers*.

Council. What did you hear concerning sending into *Dorsetshire*, to spread Rumours there?

Hill. That they had four hundred of their Friends there that they were sure of, and several Cases of Pistols sent down by the Carrier.

Court. Who said that?

Hill. I know not what particular person, but at that Meeting, & in that company.

Council. Who was present? *Hill.* *Gibbs* and *Stubbs*.

Council. None of the rest? Was *Tonge* or *Phillips* there? *Hill.* No Sir.

Council. Did you hear of any other Countrey, either *Kent*, or *Worcestershire*, or *Derby*, or *Leicestershire*?

Hill. *Tonge* informed us of the faithfulness of Col. *Kendrick* in *Kent*, to bring him some Arms.

Court. If the Prisoners will ask him any Questions, they may.

Sallers. Friends, all that here are present, I did ever abhor such an action: Ask him whether he did hear me speak those words, that I would say, that there was Arms delivered out, and that forty went away lacking, and in one or two dayes there would be more; which words I never did speak in my life, or any such thing onely what I heard from *Wapshot*, as *Wapshot* declared to my Lord Mayor, he told me, to whom I appeal: It's true, meeting with that *Wapshot*, says he, we hear there will be a Rising, and there are some Arms delivered out; said I, I would advise you to have a care of such a business.

Sir *Orl. Bridgeman.* I would not interrupt you, you will be admitted to make your defence afterwards; but if you will, ask him any Question.

Sallers. My Lord, I shall come to that, *Wapshot* told me there were Arms delivered, but further told me, he knew not of the certainty of these things, that at night he should go to a house where he should know, I bid him have a care; At night, as I was passing along, I met *Riggs* at *Stubbs* door, he asked me what news at *London?* I said, I was told there would be a Rising, and that Arms were delivered. Is there, says he? said I, I do not believe it, but I shall know certainly to morrow. I did call the next morning, and asked, Is the story true? No, says he, I was there, and there was no Arms, that was all that I know of the business. Friend, did I tell you any such thing?

Council. Tell him, and upon what occasion.

Hill. Upon occasion of *Riggs* asking him for thirty Arms for me (this upon the *Exchange*) *Sallers* took him a little aside and told him, They were all delivered out, that they were gone away lacking, that more would be there within two or three days.

Sallers. That which I said to *Riggs*, was the Message I received from *Wapshot*; but that I inquired, and there was no Arms there; so that it was but a fallacy; For I advised him not to meddle with any such thing. Mr. *Hill* never saw my face, till I was apprehended upon the *Exchange*, and brought before Sir *Rt. Brown*.

Hill. I saw him upon the *Exchange* with this man (*Riggs.*)

Council. Did he say that any Arms were delivered before, and what number?

Hill. About five or six hundred.

Sallers. He never heard me speak a word.

Council. How long before he was apprehended?

Hill. Never but that time with *Riggs* upon the *Exchange*, about nine dayes before his apprehension; and he confessed upon his examination, That he did see me with *Riggs*.

Court. Have you, or any other the prisoners any questions more?

Sallers. I have more: Whether he will positively affirm that he spake with me upon the *Exchange*? *Hill.* No Sir, you answered the question to *Riggs*.

Council. You heard the answer? *Hill.* Yes Sir.

Sallers. May be at the second hand.

Council. Did you hear the prisoner answer it, or had you it at the second hand?

Hill. I heard it from *Sallers* himself, answering *Riggs*.

Sallers. Did you hear me? *Hill* Yes, to Mr. *Riggs*.

Sir *Hen. Finch.* He swears it, and you wonder at it, and so we do all.

Sallers. Who was there then?

Hill. It was upon the *Exchange* when almost full.

Sallers. What day of the moneth? *Hill.* I cannot remember the day.

Sallers. I do declare before this Honourable Bench, Gentlemen of the Jury, and this great Auditory, That I never saw this mans face till I was apprehended: That which I told Mr. *Riggs*, was, what I heard *Wapshot* say. I never till then saw this mans face, nor exchanged one word with him; whereas he sayes, he heard me. I do not believe Mr. *Riggs* saw him near me, when I gave him the answer.

Hill. Seeing he doth invalidate my Testimony, Mr. Adjutant *Carent* took him upon the *Exchange*, I shewed him the person; and therefore, certainly I must see him before.

Sallers. It was not he, but the other in the white cloaths, that came and took me, that knew me. *Court.* Will any of the rest ask him any question?

Sallers. Here is that, that I am accused of, That I delivered Arms, which is altogether false; My Lord Mayor can bear me witnesse, *Wapshot* confessed, he told me such a thing; I was always serviceable to his Majesty upon all occasions, and all times: my Neighbours can witnesse my civil conversation

Court. Have you any thing more to ask him?

Sallers. I would fain know, whether the Bench and Jury are satisfied with this Evidence. *Court.* That you will hear anon: What else will you ask him?

Stubbs. What he accuses me, you have all heard: I doe in the presence of God, and this Honourable Bench, and the Jury, deny it: for it is very false, and believe none will verifie the same upon Oath. *Court.* Have you any questions?

Gibbs. We all stand in the presence of God; and I am very conscientious of what I say and do, I must give account of all things before the Lord. This Gen-

tleman,

tleman, Mr. *Hill*, has asserted concerning me, That I should deliver divers Cases of Pistols, or knowing the delivery of them: if Mr. *Hill*, who stands likewise in the presence of God, can produce any man to prove, that I delivered to any man any Pistols, or that any were so delivered by my order, or that I conveyed or sent them away into the Countrey. Do this in the sight of the Lord and his own conscience, I expect no mercy. But I would have him speak no more of me, but what he knows of me, or by me; whether he knows, I ever received any Pistols, or delivered any at any time, for such an end as he is pleased to speak, Which my Soul abhors, and God can witnesse.

Stubbs. This Mr. *Hill* was the man that mentioned this, and that he had four Horses and Arms himself, and had two hundred pound in order to it. I was never any plotter, nor contrived any thing, but am as innocent as the child unborn, but being by an accident at *Tonges* house, a Strong-water-man; ask the other witnesses, whether he speaks truth ——

Sir *O. Bridgman.* I would put you in a right way, you shall be all heard at large, when you make your defence: But will you ask him any question?

Gibbs. I propounded one, I desire an answer: Whether I received or delivered any Pistols to such a use?

Hill. I did not say he did; but at that meeting at *Black-fryers* it was discoursed among them, that several Arms were sent to *Dorsetshire* to several friends there, and he was there then; I believe he cannot deny it.

Stubbs. There was Arms spoken of, but that man (Mr. *Hill*) spoke of them, and upon this consideration, that there were Arms delivered to every Hall, Ammunition and Powder *Riggs* knows he spoke it at that time.

Hill. Sir, that was spoken after the question was put, What was the occasion of sending the Powder and Ammunition to the Halls? These Arms were spoken of, in reference to the design. I do acknowledge, I told him I had some Arms my self, and said, I had Two hundred pound for carrying it on: and I know the grounds of my speaking, and so do some of this Honourable Bench.

Stubbs. Hill advised, that they fall upon Sir *Richard Brown* as an enemy to all honest men.

Gibbs. This *Hill* says, that I should say these things. There was more there, and had ears as well as he, let them speak.

Hill. There was *Riggs*, *Stubbs*, my self, and I know not the other names.

Gibbs. This *Hill* and Mr. *Riggs*, whose face I never saw, came to my neighbours house, where I was alone, found me plotting with no man.

Hill. We were brought into his company by one *Beazley*, he had been at *Tower-hill* about two or three a Clock, to give some intelligence to some persons there, about the design. *Riggs* and I took a Coach and went after him, and *Stubbs* told us we might meet him at a Bakers house neer the *Tower*. We found *Beazley*, and he said he could not signifie any thing to us, but would carry us to *Black-fryers*, to one *Gibbs*: and there he brought us to this very man, first enquiring at a house for him, *Beazley* was told, he was at a Tavern at *Bridewel-stairs*: We went there, and found him; he told us, he could tell us little himself, till his brother came; and accordingly he presently after came, that was the occasion that I came into his company.

Gibbs. He says that I spoke of Pistols delivered, and a number, but how many he knows not; and that I should talk of the death of the King; which is as false as God is true. Again, I knew nor of his coming, never appointed him, never was privy to any such Plot, I abhor it in my Soul, I never engaged in any such designe with any man at any time ——

Court. You do your ſelf much wrong, and take away that time, which you may happily ſpend better.

Stubbs. I deſire to know of Mr. *Hill*, who was preſent at that meeting, that I ſhould ſay, the King ſhould have ſuch quarter as *Ludlow*.

Hill. It was ſpoken at the meeting at *Black-fryers*, after his brother and the other perſons were gone, it was there ſpoken, that the Council was broke up, and all ready; *Alhallows* Eve the time, and then the ſame quarter to be given as *Ludlow* ſhould have if taken.

Stubbs. You do not anſwer the Queſtion, who was there beſides your ſelf?

Hill. There was *Riggs*, and that *Gibbs* there.

Stubbs. You have onely his evidence.

Tonge. Who was in Company when I talked of 300. men at *Windſor*?

Hill. It was at your own houſe, and there was *Ward*, *Stubbs*, *Riggs*, *Hind*, and my ſelf.

Phillips. Whether did he ever ſee my face at any meeting?

Hill. I never ſaw you before that time in *Cornhill*.

Phillips. Upon what account did I ſpeak to *Riggs* then?

Hill. When you came off the *Exchange*, you told him you could not ſtay, your Captain was coming; Riggs thanked you for your favour in ſending word to the Meeting to be gone, to a certain Quaker.

Phillips. I never ſent to any Quaker to that purpoſe; I did not ſee this man upon the Sabbath day; but *Riggs* came down to me, and thought I had ſent notice to *Anchor-Alley*, but I did not.

Sallers. He affirmed that there was ſeveral meetings of Forty, and then of ſix, aſk Mr. *Hill* whether I was in either of thoſe numbers at any time.

Council. He did not charge you with any ſuch thing of being in that number: he askes a queſtion about things not laid to his charge.

Council. Let Mr. *Riggs* ſpeak.

Edward Riggs. About 3. weeks ſince I came acquainted with Mr. *Tonge* upon this occaſion, Captain *Baker* did ſay, that he was a man of Intelligence: but Mr. *Tonge* did not care for him; and told me, that I might be acquainted with him; a while after I came acquainted with him, accidentally, when I came to his Houſe.

Court. Whoſe Houſe?

Riggs. Tonges houſe; Mr. *Stubbs* was there; he ſaid, that he had been at *VVindſor*, ſpoken with the Gunner and Sergeant, and that they promiſed it ſhould be ready upon ſome certain notice given; that night he had received a Letter of ſome buſineſſe concerning a ſuit at Law, he ſaid, in which there was a myſticall meaning, which he did not tell me of; but this he ſaid, That he had made ſure of *VVindſor*, by the Gunner and Sergeants promiſes? This is that I know of him.

Council. Is this all of *Tonge*?

Riggs This likewiſe he has told me, that he had ſometimes met with a certaine company: he did not ſay thirty or forty, but a pretty many there was: he named Mr. *Cole*, Captain *Elton*, Captain *Leigh*, that they had often met, but could not well agree; but at laſt Mr. *Strange* did meet with them, give them one meeting, they could not agree neither: they went away, and ſaid theſe words to the beſt of my remembrance. Mr. *Strange* did refuſe to joyn with them, but when God did bid him go, he would go; whether this day, or next week, or next year, matters not; but when God bids him go, he would go. Mr. *Cole* was ſomewhat troubled to hear it; but ſays Mr. *Cole*, if you will go, give me but notice, if I cannot go ſo faſt as you ride, I will hold by your Horſe-tail: A little while after he told me,

they

they had not met againe; that Mr. *Cole*, because they could not agree about this busineſſe, was gone beyound Sea; but before he was gone, he did tell me of ſome conſiderations that were drawn, as he judged about a Government by Maſter *Cole*, and gave me in a Paper ſome certaine Propoſitions, three or four concerning Seamen; the ſubſtance was this, what great benefits they had by a Common-wealth.

Court. Who gave you them?

Riggs. Tonge, but it came from Mr. *Cole*, as he ſaid; In general they were to declare againſt the Miſgovernment of Church and State, in particular to Sea-men, what great advantages there would be to them; and three or four things propounded in order to them. 1. That no Sea-men ſhould pay cuſtom for any commodity that he did bring under the value of Ten pounds, upwards they muſt: And likewiſe there ſhould be care taken upon our own Coaſts, and beyond Sea, that where any of our Engliſh Ships ſhould be caſt away, there ſhould be care taken out of the Cuſtomes, that might keep them in their travelling homewards, either from begging or ſtarving; but Mr. *Cole* when they met as *Tonge* ſaid, would not agree, and therefore went beyond Sea; after he was gone, within a week or fortnight they had another meeting.

Court. They, which they, name them?

Riggs. I did not hear him name many, unleſſe *Leigh* and Captain *Elton*, I remember no more; and there, he ſaid, they had under conſideration, the Government of a Commonwealth; and ſo to declare againſt the miſgovernment of the Church and State; and there was to be a meeting at *London wall*, in a little time after, and he was there: he afterwards told me, he miſt that meeting, but had intelligence brought him, that that time that he miſſed, thirty or forty, I know not the certain number, had referred it to ſix men; the called it, *The Council of Six*, but the names of them, I never heard from him; and indeed, he ſaid he knew them not, by reaſon of his abſence from that meeting: but what I gathered from him, was this, That he judged Captain *Elton* was one of them.

Council. He told you, there was a Council of ſix.

Sir *Hen. Finch.* To make things ſhort; were you ever at any meeting where there was a diſcourſe touching ſurprizing the King, altering the Government; and who was there upon your oath?

Riggs. That Friday immediately before we were taken, I think *October* 24. there was ſome diſcourſe, in general, concerning *Whitehall*: what might be done, as to the procuring of that, and likewiſe concerning the *Tower*.

Council. Who was preſent that Friday?

Riggs. My ſelfe, *Hill*, *Tonge*, *Stubbs*, *Ward*, *Hind*, and *John Baker*; and then to the beſt of my knowledge, there was this diſcourſe in generall. Concerning the taking of the *Tower*, there was ſome Propoſitions on all hands concerning the taking of that; Mr. *Hind*, he onely mentioned, but did not ſay he would undertake it, the righting of Gunners Accompts. Mr. *Tonge*, he ſaid, that the way that he thought convenient, might be this, When Sir *John Robinſon*, now Lord Mayor, did late in the evening go into the *Tower*, there ſhould be a party following his Coach in, and ſo might doe it. And *John Baker* at that preſent inſtant of time did ſay, That it was neceſſary the King ſhould be ſurprized; and likewiſe ſaid then, that there ſhould be no quarter, he would give, nor take none.

Council. Who was preſent?

Riggs, Mr *Hill*, my ſelf, *Bradely*, *Hind*, Captain *Brown*, and *Baker*, and another *Hill*, the Drawer I think.

Council.

Council. Was not *Tonge* and *Stubs* there then at that time?

Riggs. Yes, they were there.

Sir *Hen. Finch.* I ask you this, I do not desire large stories, but firm and close answers; Were you present at any meeting, when the securing of the King, *Tower*, or *Whitehall*, was discoursed of, or no?

Riggs. Sir, that Friday *Octob.* 24 immediately before we were taken, there was this discourse, *Tonge* did propound such a way for surprizing the *Tower*, by following Sir *John Robinsons* Coach in at night: and *Baker* did say, that it was necessary to undertake the securing of the Kings person, and assaulting of *Whitehall*, and that if there were Five hundred horse and foot, they would undertake it by going into the Privy-Garden and Back-stairs.

Council. Were you present when *Stubbs* did advise the assaulting of *Whitehall*, by the Privy Garden?

Riggs. No; but *Baker* did say he would undertake it.

Council Who was present?

Riggs. Mr. *Hill*, *Bradley*, *Stubbs*. and *Hind* was there, but that *Stubbs* undertook it, I cannot say, but he was there.

Sir *Hen. Finch.* Did *Tonge* ever tell you any thing of *Phillips*, or that he had hopes of the Word?

Riggs. I came acquainted with *Phillips*, presently after I was acquainted with Mr. *Tonge*. *Phillips* once met me, and I carried him to *Tonges*, and then *Phillips* freely said, That there was three hundred Arms at the *Artillery Garden*, he being one of the Artillery knew where they lay, and could tell them how they might come by those Arms; and that for the Word it was necessary to be got; and if in case that it so fell out that the White Regiment was then out, or he then in office, he would endeavour to procure it: But afterwards meeting him several times, he declared, he would not meddle any more with it,

Sir *H. Finch.* Were you upon the *Exchange* with *Sallers*, when there was a discourse about delivering out of Arms; and what did *Sallers* say?

Riggs. Mr. *Hill* saying, That he had Two hundred pound to buy Horses, and that he had four already, and wanted Swords, and had friends in Town wanted Arms; asked me, if I knew if any were given out. I told him, that one Mr. *Sallers* told me, That he had heard some Arms were given, and to be given out that day. Upon the *Exchange*. Mr. *Hill*, and *Bradley*, and I being together, Mr. *Hill* said, I there is the person that told me of the Arms; I will go and ask him, if there be any such thing. Whether Mr. *Hill* heard the discourse, I cannot tell, but he said, says he, I have enquired, and some Arms are delivered, and forty went without; but within two or three days, there would be more.

Sir *Hen. Finch.* Did *Hill* see *Sallers* upon the *Exchange* at that time?

Riggs. Yes, but whether he heard him, I cannot tell.

Sir *R. Foster.* What induces you to believe he did see him?

Riggs. We were close together. *Foster.* What about *Nathaniel Gibbs*?

Riggs. For *Gibbs*, I brought Mr. *Hill* acquainted with Mr. *Stubbs*; and he said he knew one at *Fleet-bridge* that sells Plums, and such things; and if we would go along with him, he would tell us news. *Hill*, *Stubbs*, and I, that day I was taken, went to *Bearley*; *Stubbs* asked him what news; sayes he, I hear the businesse goes on, but if you will go to one *Gibbs*, meaning him that is fled, he has intelligence? so we went to an Ale-house neer him, but he was not at home, and we were told, if we would go to *Bridewell*, they said they would send for his Brother, meaning him at the Bar, and so should have an account: *Gibbs* at the Bar, being with

with us, he told us he knew little himself, but when his Brother came, we should here. Three quarters of an hour after came *Gibbs* that is gone, *Thomas*, and another man, I knew him not, and *Gibbs* called this Brother; *Beazley*, *Stubbs*, and *Hill*, and I set still: when this *Gibbs* came, he said his brother knew little, hoped we were honest men. The news was this, that he heard that *Ludlow* was in Town, and that now the Council was broken up. *Court.* What Council?

Riggs. The Council of six was broken up, and that they had sent Messengers into the Countrey, to give notice, and to make their interests good abroad: this is that he said there, or as much as I remember

Finch. Now I will ask you in general; Did you ever hear of any discourse at any time of these Meetings, touching a Rising by the Papists, and a Massacre of the Protestants?

Riggs. Being upon the *Exchange*, *Hill*, *Bradley*, and I, there was a Lieutenant came to me, and asked me whether I heard of the Massacre to be; I said no: saies he I can let you see a Copy of a Letter to that purpose, and gave it me: *Hill* going to the Ship, I told him of this, and he was desirous of having a Copy; and this was the Copy that was this day read in Court.

Sir *Jeff. Palmer.* What did you hear concerning the surprizing of the King at *Camberwell*, when he came from his Mother, and what did *Phillips* say?

Riggs. Phillips, *Tonge*, *Stubbs*, and my self, being together, they were discoursing concerning the Kings going abroad; and at that *Phillips* said, the King was to come to *Hampton-Court*, to see the Queen-Mother at *Greenwich*, and hinted that he might be surprized; *Tonge* said, it need not, there might be such an opportunity twice every week.

Court. Prisoners, will you ask the witnesses any Question?

Phillips. Did you not meet me on a Sabbath day? you may remember I met you in *Cheapside*, we walked to *Burchin-lane* end: you asked me of a rising that should be? I said, what rising? says you, to surprize the King, coming from *Hampton-Court* to *Greenwich*: and I came and spoke it openly in my Family, as newes that I heard. This Gentleman had me to *Tonges* house, and there grew the discourse; *Riggs* told me, *Tonge* could tell further; and *Riggs* told me, that the reason why the time for it was not appointed, was because the Fift-Monarchy men and Anabaptists were not agreed; *Riggs*, did not I disclaime this business, and declared, I would have nothing to do with it.

Riggs. This is certaine, that afterwards he did say he would not have any thing to do with it, and I did not see him a great while after that: Concerning *Bakers* surprizing the King, it is true, he did say before *Hill* and I, and *Bradley*, that the King was a hunting, and came through the City; and said, he would have been one of the Fifty that would have surprized him, and pulled him out of the Coach.

Court. Who said that? *Riggs. Baker.* *Court.* Who present?

Riggs. Bradley, M. *Hill*, and the other *Hill*, *Brown*, and others

Finch. Do you remember no discourse concerning the coming in at the Privy-Garden?

Riggs. I have under my hand to the Grand-Jury declared, that *Baker* said he knew the way to the Back-stairs through the Privy-Garden, better then any; and *Bradley* did once, and but once, say, that he knew it as well as any, and would undertake to do the same, in the presence of *Stubbs*, *Tonge*, *Hill*, and the rest of them that were there that Friday night.

Court. Who were the rest?

Riggs. *Hill*, my self, *Ward*, *Stubbs*, *Hind*, and *John Baker*, at *Tonges* house.

Sir

Sir *John Maynard*. We do not conceive, that these two witnesses have given evidence against all of them; if any thing stick with the Jury, let them speak.

Council. Hear *Bradley*; this witnesse that we call, he was no Consprirator; but when there was notice of the design, he was imployed to finde it out, and to give us an account of it.

Sir *Heneage Finch*. Mr. *Bradley*, were you present at any debate?

Gibbs. Whether did *Riggs* hear me say, that *Ludlow* was in Town, or that the Council was broke up, and the businesse went forward?

Riggs. This I said, That *Hill*, *Stubbs*, and *Beazley*, were present; and he said, he knew nothing himself, but from his Brother, this was the news, that he heard that *Ludlow* was in Town, Council broke up, and that there was sent out Messengers to give notice to prepare for the businesse; that it would be on *Allhallows-Eve*, or the latter end of the week, being Saturday the next day.

Gibbs. I never spake these words, and do desire that the Honourable Bench will enquire of the persons, then present, Whether they will avouch the same; whether I said it from my Brother? These words I did not speak, and others being present, had ears as well as he.

Tonge. Mr. *Riggs* told me *Ludlow* was in Town, and told me he would enquire after him. *Riggs*. I confess, I did so.

Tonge. And that he was like to be taken in *Cheapside*; he was continually at my shop, and would not let me alone, prompting and inducing me to these things.

Council. Mr. *Bradley* were you at any meeting, touching discourse of surprizing *Whitehall*?

Bradley. I was one Friday night at *Tonges* house, a Strong-water man on *Tower Ditch*, where there was these two Gentlemen with me (pointing to Mr. *Hill*, and Mr. *Riggs*,) and there was Mr. *Stubbs*, and *John Baker*, and another Gentleman, one *Ward*, and we had some discourse about surprizing of *Whitehall*, which way it might be done. Some said, that a party might go through the Guard, and so surprize General *Monks* Guard: Others said, they might come down by *Charing-Cross*; but *Tonge* said, there was no coming down by *Charing-Cross*, because there was two great Guns planted at the bottom, and commanded all that way; but said, the onely way he conceived, was to bring a party through *Kings street*, and if it were possible to get into the *Privy-Garden*, and so into the Lodgings that way. This is all that I remember.

Serj. *Keeling*. Do you know any thing about the Ship at the *East-India* house?

Bradley. I went to this Ship sometimes; and with *Riggs*, *Hill*, *Brown*, *Hind*, and one *Hill* a Cloth-drawer, we had divers discourses concerning the design, and the news on foot. *Court*. What design, express it?

Bradley. To alter the Government, the surprizing the King, the Duke, and the General, and as many more of the Council they could lay hands on.

Council. What about the Guards, surprizing *Whitehall*?

Bradley. At another meeting they discoursed about bringing forces to *White-hall*.

Council. Who were present then; which of the prisoners at the Bar?

Bradley. None, unless *Hind* be there. *Council*. At what other meetings were you?

Bradley. I was never at any other, but twice at *Tonges* house. The Friday night we had a discourse about taking *Whitehall*; and the day before we were taken, I met this Mr. *Riggs* upon the *Exchange*; he asked me to go home and dine with him, we intended to go and see a Ship: His Dinner being not ready, we went over to *Tonges* shop, and had a quartern of Strong-waters, and I took a Pipe of Tobacco. *Riggs* went away, and said he would not stay; *Hind* staid with me the whilst. After we had taken a Pipe of Tobacco, he came again, and said he heard

the buſineſs was near at hand, and that there would be ſpeedy action. *Hill* was at the ſhop, and after dinner *Riggs* and I, Mr. *Hill*, and *Hind*, went all out together to *Stubbs* his houſe. *Riggs* and *Hill* went in, *Hind* and I ſtaid. Standing there a little, ſaid I to *Hind*, What mean theſe Gentlemen to ſtay ſo long? *Riggs* ſaid he ſtaid ſtaid for a friend; but I will goe and meet him: Said I, will you not go on board a ſhip with Mr. *Hind* and I? ſays *Riggs*, no, I will go to meet my friend. Do you goe on board the ſhip and come to my houſe; if I am not there pray ſtay a little. We asked Mr. *Hill*, if he would goe with us, but he went with *Riggs*, and they told me comming back, that *Gibbs* had informed them, the deſign was ready, Councel broke up, and meſſengers ſent to give notice, and *Ludlow* in Town, and to be General.

Court. Who told you this?

Bradley. Riggs did, when he returned from *Bridewell*.

Tyler ſworn.

Sir *H. Finch.* Mr. *Tyler*, do you know *Tonge?*

Tyler. I know him very well.

Sir *H. Finch.* Have you ever been in his company, and ſpake of any deſign about ſecuring the king. *Tyler.* Often.

Council. Tell what you have heard:

Tyler. I have met Mr. *Tonge*, and others, in thre or four ſeverall places; at the Wheat-ſheaf at *Lions*, one if not twice; at the Half-moon, Widow *Jordans* within Biſhops-gate, twice at the leaſt; neer Dukes-place at the Sheares, I have heard ſeveral things, and have noted it down, to be ſure to deliver the truth. I have heard them ſpeak about *Whitehall*, and ſecuring of it, and of the two Guns there. *Eton* and he ſaid that they might come with a party backwards, breaking through a Barbers ſhop in *Kings ſtreet*, and diſmount the two Guns But as touching the King, the Duke, and the Noble Duke of *Albemarle*, They propoſed what excellent ſervice it would be to ſecure theſe perſons, He ſaid it was not a thing that would admit of much debate, inaſmuch as he had a friend a Courtier, (I know not his title) that would give him notice at any time when the King was none a hunting, or His progreſs; and that it was eaſie to take it. *Tonge* ſaid he ſerved the *Tower*-Sutler, and was acquainted there; and ſaid, there was no way to ſurprize that but this, either about 10 or 11. a clock, I will undertake we may do it with forty perſons, thus ſays he, ſome to go in dropping, one by one, or two together; and others to be at ſeverall Alehouſes neer, to be ready, and they within ſeizing on the Guard by a private ſign, we would ſecure thoſe without; and the Souldiers being of the old Army, will readily comply: And ſaid, there was a perſon that lived nigh him, wears Ropes about him is a Porter, when off the Guard; and believes he can command the whole Company, and would undertake it. For *Windſor* caſtle, there was an old Gunner, that he kept a correſpondence withall, and he ſerves the Sutlers of that Caſtle with Tobacco, I think he named Strong-water; and that the Souldiers were many of them of his acquaintance, and that he had received Letters from this Gunner, under ſome ſtrange title; and ſaid it was eaſie, and knew, that at any time, when Word was given, let him goe or ſend by ſuch a token, and that place were our own.

Court. Who ſaid this?

Tyler. Mr. *Tonge*. As to the other perſon *Phillips*, I can onely ſay this of him; there is one Lieutenant *Chapman*. ſo formerly, now a Priſoner in the Tower: This Lieutenant was a Carrier of *Norwich*, I went to his Inne the *George* in *Lumbard-ſtreet*, and asked for him, I was told he was at Captain *Foſters* Houſe in *Leaden-hall-ſtreet*, and there I might find him; I went to Captain *Foſters*, and Ca. *Foſters* man told me he was at Supper there with his Maſter; I went up, there was this Lieutenant

Chapman, and *Phillips*, which was the first time I laid eyes on *Phillips*: My business was to speake with Mr. *Chapman* the *Chapman* the Carrier; but I perceived by some discourse of Mr. *Phillips*, there was something driving on; but I must say, that Captain *Foster* walked about the Room, as if he minded not the discourse; there was *Chapman*, *Phillips*, *Elton*, and a man looking a squint, I heard *Phillips* call him Master Master, but I know not the man; I heard them discourse very promiscuously about ships, and something wildly; I tarried while I spent my two pence, and came away with Mr. *Chapman*, and asked him what that young Blade was that talked so promiscuously? *Chapman* told me he was a Sergeant belonging to the Trained-Bands: Tell me his Name, his Name is *Phillips*: Do you know his Trade or Dwelling? He is a Gilder I think: Then this is the same person I have heard of at a Coffee-house, which was thus; A Perfumer in *Southwark*, he heard of great rumours about a new Commonwealth; and pressing this Perfumer how he came to be thus informed, says he, there is one *Phillips* that lives in *Abchurch*-lane, this man knows of it: for sayes he, he hath said himself, that he has gone from Committee to Committee, where Officers met about these things, and he named Captain *Foster* for one that was engaged in the business: said I, this is strange; I hastened back again in the morning to Captain *Fosters*; Sir, said I, Do you know that *Phillips* that was here last night? Yes, sayes he: What is he, said I? he answered, a Sergeant. The thing is this, this man does talk abroad, That there is a meeting of the old Officers, and that you are engaged. At which, Captain *Foster* seemed to be troubled that he should be so aspersed; answered, I know nothing, not one word of this. I do declare an abhorrence thereto, or of any action against His Majesty; and thereupon presently went to *Phillips*, and charged him with this Report; and soon after, this Perfumer comes to my house, and desired me to go over to the Cross-Keys, where *Phillips* was. When I came there, says *Phillips*, Sir, I saw you the last night, when we were talking of Ships. I hope you do not mind the report about Captain *Foster*; for I am troubled such a thing is mentioned: For my part, I knew not that I said so; I am sure, I knew no such thing. This was all as to *Phillips*; But for *Tonge* I must needs say, in all the meetings where I was, the several places that I formerly named, and the *Whalebone* behind the Exchange, he still discoursed of this business.

Council What was done there concerning chusing the Counsil of Six?

Tyler. He was spoke to be at the Shears, but he sent a note sealed and directed, in which was inclosed either nine or eleven of the Rump Parliament names of persons: And says he, for my part I cannot come this day, because the Hamlets are to go out into the Field; it was when Sir *John Robinson* marched with his Regiment; that I may avoid suspicion, I must go with him.

Council. What were those names?

Tyler. I cannot tell; but they were nine or eleven of those in the *Tower*: And he promised he would get a note of those mens names in the *Tower*; for he was confident of it, that they would sit as Members, and do good service upon the account of a Commonwealth: And said there were some that had a correspondence with them in the *Tower*. *Coun*. What correspondence had they in the Country?

Tyler. *Longe* told me at the Wheat-sheaf, That if a rising should be, it were necessary, that the old Commanders up and down the Country, should head them: And therefore says he, What forces can be raised, should go under that Conduct; or to that effect, he and *Elsin* did propose several Colonels, I think most that are now living, both in *England* and beyond the Seas.

Council. Can you tell any thing of the rumours abroad, expecting this design?

Tyler. *Tonge* told me this, That there was one that they called the Lord *Lock-*

hart, he, said he, was Governor of *Dunkirk*; that he had thirty or forty servants about him; that these persons expected a rising, and that they and himself, would engage. We heard that Col. *Rossiter*, not particularly from *Tonge*, but there in company, was expected to be at *Sturbridge*-Fair, to head Fifteen hundred Horse to be at *London*. Also, he asked me this question at his house, Whether I was acquainted with Cap. *Leigh*, a man with one arm, a stout honest fellow, & an active man of his acquaintance

Council. Speak your knowledge, both of persons and things.

Tyler. There was one Mr. *Cole* of *Southamton*, *Sweetnam Gibbs* a Hat maker, not he at the Bar, *Tonge*, *Thomas Elton*, *Elkin*, *Pryor*, and one Cox a Gardiner, and *Ward*, now prisoner in the *Tower*, and one *Ward* a *Southwark* man, and Dyer a young Scholar; there was one *Rose* of *Chesterfield*, and the Perfumer I spoke of, I know not his name, he lives in *Southwark*; and there was a Quaker, I know not his name; the great business was to unite all interests; *Elkin* said, there were several Meetings in St. *Martins*, and other places

Tonge. If there be any one of the six in *London*. I believe this Mr. *Tyler* is one.

Tyler, To clear that I am none of them, I will name those whom I said were the six, *Thomas* of *Shoo-lane* the Copper-smith, one *Elton* in *White*-chappel, one *Raddon*, Captain *Spurway* of *Tiverton*, a West-countrey Gentleman, Dr. *Ward* in *Southwark*, and *Jones* a Minister.

Sir *Hen. Finch* Did *Tonge* tell you that the time was apponted when the Rising should be?

Tyler. I know nothing of that. *Maynard.* What about *Leicester*.

Riggs. Hill said he dwelt there, and came from some that dwelt there, and others in *Glocestershire*; but there was another person with *Stubs* and *Tonge*, and said there was a report in the Country that there would be some rising, and he came to town to bring his child to put him Apprentice with his brother, and would go down again and carry the certainty of the news. He was one of *Lamberts* souldiers.

Phillips. Mr. *Tyler*, did not you come in with the Carrier of *Norwich* to Cap. *Fosters*? *Tyler.* No, I did not.

Phillip. I am sure I came accidentally to Cap. *Fosters* and saw you there.

Gibbs. Did I tell you, Mr. *Riggs*, that my brother said *Ludlow* was in Town, and there would be a rising shortly:

Riggs. Mr. *Hill*, *Beasly*, *Stubs*, and I and you were together, Mr *Thomas* and your brother came in, your brother *Beasly*, *Stubbs*, and *Thomas* were private in discourse, when you came again to us we asked you what news; you said, before we came you knew not much, but your brother could tell, but then you said *Ludlow* was in Town, the Council was broke up and that Messengers were sent to give notice to the Country. *Gibbs* I deny that I ere my brother said so.

Maynard. Know you any thing of surprizing the Kings Council, or *Whitehall*, or any thing of that, of altering the Government?

Tyler. As for altering the Government, that must needs be designed; for *Tonge* said it was debated, and thought convenient, as being the desire of severall in the Country, that the old Parliament should be chosen again, that was to say, that so many of them that had approved themselves faithfull from first to last to the Commonwealths interest, especially in the times of Descension Secondly, that none should have power to elect, or be elected but such also as have approved themselves faithfull, as aforesaid. Thirdly, this House was to be filled up within a moneth, Fourthly, that it should continue one year and no more. Fifthly, that they should not have power in things of an Ecclesiasticall nature, to impose any thing upon the consciences of the people. Sixthly, that it should be high Treason among them to assert the interest of a King, house of Lords, or single person Seventhly, that they

should not oppoint any sallary Officers. Eighthly, that while they keep to this; it should be high Treason to disturb them; as touching Arms and things of that nature the truth is, the business which was very much urged is this, that there should be an uniting of all interests together, Quakers, Fifthmonarchymen, Ansbaptists, Independent, Presbyterian, and Leveller; to which purpose every one was obliged at the meeting to see what interest they could make among the Presbyters, because they looked upon them as persons that had most money and strength. I think there was no Presbyterian spoken of except one, who is lately secured in the Tower; he said, that if to be Col. *Beanes* was at liberty he believed he could engage him. There was one man that was there, which was one *Prior*, I suppose *Tonge* knew him, he said, he had very much acquaintance with the Presbyters, knew many in the Countrey, and that there they did not meet with any difficultys as here; for all interests, Quakers, and Presbyterians, and the rest, are all agreed.

Sir *Hen. Finch* Very well, you see *Tonge* was at all these meetings, at the Wheatsheaf and Sheares, and there were the Colonels proposed. Did you hear of any Orders given out, in any of these consultations, to make the rising in the Countrey at the same time as in *London*?

Tyler. Mr. *Gibbs*'s Brother told us that he kept a correspondence in the country, that in *Essex* he knew there were divers Horse ready there, and I my self spoke with one who is lately secured, who said, there were divers horse ready thereabouts. I remember there were several at the Half-moon at *Bishops-gate*; one *Smith*, a *Northamptonshire* man, and one *Elose* of *Chesterfield*, and *Tonge*, and we heard that at *Mansfield* and *Nottingham* there was a rising intended; and it was assured that the countrey was very ripe and forward for action. We were informed, that there was 200 horse at *Bristow*; one person not yet secured did affirm to us, that one Col. *Templar* in *Essex* had two or three thousand men ready, his name was *Thomas*; that *Templar* was now in Town, if we would we might go and speak with him Said I, surely he doth but tell you this; saith he, his Lieut. col. gave me this information, and assures me, that his Colonel had converted his Estate into money to pay his Souldiers. Upon this having occasion to go down into *Essex*, I promised *Tonge* I would enquire further there; and understanding that one *Thornback* a Glover was one of *Templars* men formerly, I went to his house and being not at home I rode to *Holsted* Fair, and riding there the man pulled me by the coat, for he knew me; saith he, Mr. *Tyler*, my servant said you were at my house to speak with me. Yes, said I, I understand your name is *Thornback*, that you can give me some account concerning Col. *Templar*, we hear in *London* that he hath two or three thousand men in readiness. I pray inform me, saith he, I do not believe any such matter. I have served him long, and if occasion were he would be for you. I asked him the news; saith he, we all dread a massacre, we understand by a Letter from *Ipswich*, that the Papists intend a massacre of all Protestants about *Allhollandtide*, and that the countrey was in great fear about it. This *Thomas* the Coppersmith told us another story about some Roman Catholicks in *Southwark*, that had a purpose to rise and take of all Phanaticks.

After this the Court directed that *Phillips* Examination should be shewed him at the Bar, and he acknowledged his hand thereto, and was read as followeth,

The Examination of *George Phillips* Serjeant and Bringer up to Col. Sir *William Wale*'s Company of Trained bands in the City of *London*, taken this 29 of *October*, 1662. before me *Richard Brown*,

Who saith, That *he knoweth one Parson* Riggs, *late Chaplain to* Blake, *who is now clerk to one* Friend, *a Brewer in* Cats-hole, *neer the* Iron-gate *in* St. Katherines; *which said* Riggs *told him, this* Examinant, *That there would be a rising*

of

of divers godly people in Arms for preservation of Religion, about the time the Queen came to Town; and that they intended to seize the Kings person about Camberwell, in his passage to see the Queen mother at Greenwich; but after the Queen was come to Town, this Examinant asked the said Riggs why it was not done according to their intendment, who replyed, they were not then ready, because the Congregationall Churches and they were not fully agreed; but now they were come to an agreement, and the work would be done in a short time; that all things were now neer ready both in Countrey and City, and that a Frigat or more would revolt from the King to them. Not long after the said Riggs carried him, the said Phillips, to the house of one Tonge, an old Army Captain, but now a seller of Tobacco and Strong-water in Tower-Ditch, where he heard Tonge say unto Riggs, that he had been at Windsor-Castle, and had made a Captain, a Serjeants, and a Gunner to be of their Party; & that they had undertaker to deliver up the said Castle to that Party which were now to rise; to which Riggs replyed, you have done well; & further said, I am now going to surprize two Castles in Kent; one of them, as this Deponent remembreth, was to be Deal Castle; & this he would & could do, for that he had some correspondence therein, & much acquaintance near, where he formerly used to preach. And further saith, That Tonge asked Riggs, who should lead the men that were to rise, & who cõmanded in chief; to which Riggs reply'd, that Ludlow was appointed for that work. He further saith, that he asked Riggs & Tonge, how this business might be carried on with safety & secresie; Riggs told him, that there was a Council of 6 which managed the design, who sat but one day in a place, & would not be spoken with, but by the agitators of each county, who were implyed by them to & fro in this work, to prepare and make ready all parties in the several counties; & that these 6 were of several congregations & opinions; to the end that all parties might unite: and further saith, that one Wade or some such name, whom he heard Riggs and Tonge say was a Ship-chandler in East-smithfield, did furnish powder to carry on this design; in whose company he once was, and himself say as much; which said person he believes he knows when he seeth him again. He also saith, that Riggs told him all the congregational Churches were now agreed to joyn in this design; And that Riggs & Tonge desired this Examinant to furnish what Men & Arms he could; which he saith he never intended to do it, though he earnestly requested it of him; only he saith, in some things he was too faulty, which he prayeth pardon for; which was, in sending word to the several meetings on Sunday last, that the Trained-bands were coming to seise them; upon which the chiefest of them made their escape before the Souldiers arrival; & that he being deluded by their fair Speeches, did promise to give them the Word when the general Rising was to be: In which rising all the Churches aforesaid promised to joyn, & the Fifth-monarchy Men to lead the Van. And further saith, that Riggs told him, they had a Declaration ready to fling among the people, against Bishops & Common-prayer; and that Liberty of Conscience was held forth therein: But first before this Declaration, they would seise on the Kings person; & that then their declaration would take with the people; And also saith, That one Capt. Baker, one Bradley & Tonge were privy to all these Transactions which were debated by them in his presence; and that the said Baker came afterwards to this Examinant, & discoursed all the aforesaid particulars, & incited him to help on with the work; & told him, their Arms & Powder was distributed, and that a Porter, which was formerly a souldier, carried the Powder to several places in a sack. And further saith, that Riggs had told him, they had divers friends both in London & the country, who had & would help them to Mony & that all their friends were now ready in all counties, waiting only for the day when they were to Act; and that the Treasure in Guild hall would likewise to be seised. And that the said Riggs also told him, that they intended to Surprize the Tower, which they could easily do, having some therein that would assist; and this was to be put in Execution in some Evening, when Sir John Robinson came home late, by following close after his Coach with a Party of men, which should lie ready for that purpose.

George Phillips.

Sir William Morice, *and Sir* Henry Bennet, *Principal Secretaries of State sworn.*

Sir *William Morice.* I have had intelligence, and several advertisements from several parts of the Kingdom, that there was a Design of Rising, and an Insurrection, that it was the general expectation and common discourse of the discontented and disaffected party; nay, it was likewise preached about that the Papists had a Design to rise and cut the throats of the Protestants. I had 4 or 5 Letters to that effect sent and brought me; & these Rumors were spread to excite others to joyn with these.

Sir *Henry Bennet.* Divers Letters of mine were to the same effect, that there was an Insurrection intedded at that time, and calling upon one another to be ready at that time.

Sir *John Talbot* Sworn.

Sir *John Talbot.* I suppose that the Evidences that I can give in relation to the Prisoners, is only the consequences of this report, which they had rumoured about the Papists Massacring the Protestants; the consequence was this, that it made a very great disturbance in *Worcestershire* & *Warwickshire*, insomuch that many Gentlemen that lived in the Country in very good repute, came under a very great suspicion of all their Neighbors, and the Lieutenants wrote to one another to secure many, there was Guards set to satisfie the fears of the Country, Friday night which the rising should have been on, they would not intrust the Catholicks to be in Arms but other Volunteers.

Mr. *Hodges* Sworn.

Mr. *Hodges.* In *Dorset-shire* the 23 of *October* last, there was a discovery made by some of the Town, of an intention of a general rising, and some of the Town were engaged in it, one Mr. *Harvey* a Justice of the Peace examined divers persons, four that were privy to it were sent to the Gaol, and an Exprss sent to Secretary *Morrice.* Sir *John Weld* the younger gave such an account of *Shaftsbury.*

Stubbs. My Lord, the occasion of my going that Friday night was by Mr. *Hill* and Mr. *Riggs* suggesting the Papists rising, I was never known to be a Plotter, I had not gone forth that night, but only by their perswasions, I never heard of any Arms but only the rumours of the people.

Salliers. I would fain know of Mr. *Riggs* what number of Arms I told him was delivered.

Riggs. I know not the number.

Major *Thomas Bonfoy* (at his desire) was Sworn.

Major *Bonfoy.* I do not remember that I ever saw *Phillips* face, but I did understand it was his custom to come to the *Exchange* to insinuate himself into my Officers, making merry with them, and endeavouring to get the word, and I believe it was his common practise.

Phillips. He may remember I came on the Exchange, and spoke to him, and was looking for one of his Sergeants, I asked no man the word, but presently went to the Black Lyon in the new Alley, and from thence I went home, I did not ask the word of any one; I have confessed before the Council that at the beginning of *August*, I met Mr. *Riggs* in Cheapside, he then came and closed with me, and walking along, said he, Do not you hear of a rising which should have been on Friday? no said I, and then I asked him where? he said at *Camberwel*, and I thinking nothing of it, came home and spoke of it in my Family, as news from Mr. *Riggs*; on Tuesday I met Mr. *Riggs* on Tower-hill, and he brought me to the house of Mr. *Tong*; *Tong* told *Riggs* he had been at *Windsor*, and made some party to secure the Castle; *Riggs* said he could go down to *Kent*, and secure *Deal* and another Castle, for he had been a Preacher there; As for Mr. *Tyler*, one night coming neer Captain *Fosters* door, and having not seen him in three years before, he asked me if I would not drink, I said yes, then came in the Carryer of *Norwich*, I never saw this Carryer till then; then came Mr. *Tyler*, and there was talking of a Friggot and the time of the lanching of it, and how it was to be man'd; but a little after Captain *Foster* came and

charged

charged me with a report, that I should say he was engaged; I told him I knew it not, nor said it not; I have often declared I would have nothing to do in it, It's true Mr. *Riggs* came and thanked me that I sent notice to the meeting to be gone, and I told him I would do the people any good I could, but Mr. *Riggs* knows I told him it was a dangerous businesse, and I would not meddle with it, I am sure in the time of the Fifth-monarchy Insurrection, I was faithfull to the King, ventured my life as far as any man, Sir *William Wale* put trust in me, and I did that service there that the Colonel himself did not venture to do; but that I was engaged in this businesse, it is a trouble to me, and I hope the King will be merciful to me, I did not think that such a thing would be disclosed in so short a time, for my part I did not mind it, I knew nothing the night I was taken, I was in bed and I did not offer to escape, I hope the King will look upon me as one drawn in.

Stubbs. I never had any meeting with any of the Councill, most of the things I heard at Mr. *Tongs* house, meeting with Mr. *Riggs* by chance; for those Gentlemen Mr. *Tyler* speaks of, the Councill of 40 and of 6 I never knew them, I am sorry I should be concerned in such discourse, & I hope his Majesty will have mercy on me.

Gibbs. My Lord, I was at a Neighbours house at that time, and went to Drink a Cup of Beer alone in their Kitching, not knowing of *Hill*, *Riggs* or *Stubbs* coming there, I never appointed them any meeting, they came in, and when they came in, they asked if there was not one *Gibbs* there, so the people of the house told them there was, they came and told me there was some Gentlemen would speak with me, whereupon they being strange faces, I stood up and said, Gentlemen, what is your businesse with me? said they, we would drink a Cup of Beer with you, then said I sit down; they had a desire to be private, and to go up, whereupon not knowing their business, I went up, supposing they meant some matters of my trade, but we sitting down, Mr. *Riggs* said to me, Mr. *Gibbs*, what is the best news, and Mr *Hill* also did urge and ask for news, said I Gentlemen, I know no news, nor none I can tell you; so they made inquiry then for my brother, said I, I cannot tell where my brother is, may be your businesse is most with him; I will send for him, and I sent the Maid for him, and directed her, that if he was not at home, she should leave word for him to come: Again, they urged for news, and I told them I knew none but only this, that the meeting was seized upon the last Sunday by armed Souldiers; but to tell them, there would be any rising, or of any arms delivered, or Pistols, as Mr. *Hill* has related it, was a thing I was wholy ignorant of, I speak as in the presence of God, & I know I must one day give an account before the great assizes of the world, and I fear that which they have said, is out of some fear lying upon them, being guilty of some fact, and so to shrowd themselves under false lyes. They nor no other can prove that ever I received, or delivered any arms, or that any were delivered by my order, these men speak falsly.

Sir *O. Bridgman.* You mistake your self, they do not charge you with receiving or delivering Arms, but you related it, your brother speaks such things had been done, and if you know of this, and do consent and conceal it you are equally guilty.

Gibbs. After they had asked me the News in a short time my brother came into the room, and I rose from the Table, and went towards my brother, and then my brother asked me what those Gentlemen were? I said they were strangers to me, and I knew not what they came for; saies he, they are strangers to me also, immediately we arose, paid our reckoning, and went away: but that ever I said my Brother told me, The Councel of six was broke up, all is ready, *Ludlow* to be General, and *Alhallow-Eve* the time, or that things went on well: I deny it, my Brother said no such thing to me, nor I to any man; when there was an Insurrection by the *Fifth monarchy* men, I was then presently ready at beat of Drum, went out in my own Person to serve his Majesty at twelve a clock at night, though I had Servants of my own. My affections were such, that I

have alwaies ever since his Majesties Restauration been an obedient Subject to al his lawful Commands. I belonged then to Major *Kilby*'s Company, and did continue marching in the Company till the whole busines was over, and ventured my Life, and never did contrive any Plot, or knew of any Plot, received or delivered any Arms: As to the Inhabitants among whom I have lived many years, they have known my Conversation. I have been a peaceable Neighbour, subjecting my self under the Government that now is, whom God continue. I desire this Certificate may be read concerning my Neighbours testimony of my conversation.

Sir *O. Bridgeman.* If you have any of them here they may speak, but the Certificate cannot be read.

The Porters man of *Bridewell* said he knew nothing, but that he lived very quietly among his Neighbours.

Sir *R. Foster.* Nor I neither.

Court. Mr. *Tong* what have you to say?

Tong. I have nothing to say, but that the first man that brought me into this business was *Tyler.*

Sallers All that I am charged with is a report of the delivery of some Arms; seeing that a number of Arms are mentioned, I would ask what was the number?

Mr. *Riggs.* I cannot well tell the number, but you said there were some Arms given, and some to be given; and that several had come to that place, and went away without Arms, and that within two or three dayes there would be more given, but as to the number I cannot remember.

Sallers. Now take notice of Mr. *Hills* Evidence, he hath asserted that there were 5 or 6 hundred, how do these agree? I can have sufficient testimony of my Life & conversation.

Court. If you have any thing more to say in this business, speak in the name of God, no body hinders you, but keep to the business.

Sallers. I intreat the Bench to take notice what I am charged withall, it's only a report I received from one man, and told to another, and the very Original was a Lye, there was no such matter, and yet here is audacious Evidence; he saies I named 5 or 600. and yet *Riggs* to whom I spoke heard me name no number.

Council. One speaks to the Arms, but does not remember the number; they both speak to the thing.

Sallers. How can Mr. *Hill* be a competent Witness against me; when he never saw my face before, but saies Mr. *Riggs* told him.

Mr. *Hill* I said not so, but that I heard it from your own mouth.

Mr. *Soliciter.* Mr. *Riggs* why did you go to Mr. *Sallers* to help Mr. *Hill* to Arms?

Mr. *Riggs.* Because Mr. *Sallers* told me the day before that he heard there was some delivered, and more would be, and the next day we went to the *Exchange*, and there he told me this story *Sallers.* I cannot hear him.

Sir *O. Bridgman.* He saies you told him the day before there was Arms delivered, and more would be delivered, and then the next day he and Mr. *Hill* came on the *Exchange*, and then you spoke those words which they both witness against you.

Sallers, I spake no such a word; It's true, what *Wapshot* told me I told *Riggs*, which was, that there were Arms, delivered; but it seems there was none: and I told him I would tell him the truth the next day on the *Exchange*, and so in the mean time speaking with *Wapshot*, he told me there was no such thing. & I told *Riggs Wapshot* said there was none.

Court. Pray what made you so busily enquire after Arms if you were not concerned?

Sallers I did not enquire after it but accidentaly meeting him in *Mark lane* he told me

Mr. *Tinge.* My Lord, as you are my Judge, so I hope you will be my Councellor; and I pray your advice whether Mr. *Tyler* and Mr. *Riggs* be competent witnesses against me, they being in the same case. Sir *O. Bridgeman*, Where is the cause of your exception?

Tinge. Because they are in the same case.

Sir *O. Bridgeman.* There are four witneſſes all againſt you, your own confeſſion and examination againſt you, through the whole buſineſs you are a principal perſon.

Tong. I confeſs I did confeſs it in the Tower, being threatned with the wrack.

Sir *O. Bridgeman.* There is Mr. *Hill*, Mr. *Riggs*, Mr. *Bradley*, and Mr. *Tyler*; there is *Hill* and *Bradley* without exception; *Bradley* he was not at all concerned, he went along with you to know what you ſaid; and Mr. *Hill* was not a perſon in the deſign, but made uſe of only to find out the Plot, they did nothing unjuſtifiable, ſo they are witneſſes without exception.

Serjeant *Glynn.* We deſire your Lordſhip to declare whether *Riggs* and *Tyler* be lawful witneſſes.

Sir *O. Bridgeman.* I would have you know this, whereas you make exception againſt thoſe perſons that are guilty of the ſame crime, that's a miſtake to ſay they are not witneſſes; in caſes of Treaſon, where there are works of darkneſs, theſe are things men will not do by day-light but in darkneſs, and who can diſcover theſe works of darkneſs better than they that have to do with them, if God turn their hearts: It's true, ſuch perſons as theſe are, if they had been convicted, they are not Witneſſes, but though they are in the ſame fault, it is frequent they are allowed, beſides they are not witneſſes alone, there are divers circumſtances, 1 *Edward* 6. 5 *Edward* 6. both ſtatutes ſay, there ſhall be two lawful witneſſes in caſes of high treaſon, that is ſuch witneſſes as the Law would allow, before thoſe ſtatutes, the meaning of the ſtatutes was, that men might not be taken upon a bare ſurmize; therefore the Law ſayes, there ſhall be two witneſſes, when one is accuſed of Treaſon, another in the ſame offence unconvicted and untainted, his Evidence is made uſe of, and though it is not ſo upright a witneſſe as others, yet he is ſuch a witneſs as the Jury is to take notice of: it is plain by ſeveral circumſtances, you have been a principal perſon, a Leader on of the buſineſs; though a man be but preſent when Treaſon is ſpoken or deſigned and acted, if this man be preſent, and ſhew any thing of approbation, his concealing of it is as much Treaſon as he that did it, they are all principals in Treaſon.

Sir *Henry Finch.* May it pleaſe your Lordſhips and you Gentlemen of the Jury, you have heard the Evidence of the Priſoners at the bar, five of them have ſtood out their Tryal, a ſixth hath confeſſed the Fact againſt thoſe perſons that now ſtand at the Barr; under good favour there is a clear and unqueſtionable proof of the Crime charged of them, and they have not ſaid any thing that hath either taken away the credit of the Evidence, or excuſed the matter; if you conſider firſt *Tong*, there is againſt him four witneſſes, and thoſe unqueſtionable, as you heard the direction of the Court, that he knew of the deſign, approved of it, contrived how to ſurprize *Windſor* Caſtle, had corrupted the head Gunner and Sergeant there, that he did contrive to ſeize *Whitehall*, and if you believe *Bradley*, adviſed as the fitteſt way, to break into the Privy Garden, all this againſt *Tong*, with a world of other Evidence how active he has been, his houſe was the place of conſultation, he imparts the deſign to *Phillips*, and *Phillips* undertakes to get the Word of the Trained Bands, I think none can prove more than is proved againſt him, when you come to hear the proof againſt *Phillips*, it is proved that he offered to betray 300 Arms in the Artilery, where he had ſome kind of Truſt, and that he was ready to endeavour the Word when the Inſurrection was to be, and but a very little before, he is the man that diſcovers to the Congregational Meetings, that the Trained Bands were coming to ſurprize them, that is in his own confeſſion, as well as the willingneſs in him to diſcover the Word; It is proved that *Tong* and *Stubbs* were preſent at thoſe diſcourſes touching ſurprizing the Tower, ſecuring the King, this is proved expreſly againſt them; *Stubbs* he thinks he has ſaid fairly for himſelf, when he doth ask Mr. *Hill* whether he did not ſay he had horſes and 200 l. to carry on the work, Mr. *Hill* ſayes he did ſay ſo, then it ſeems *Stubbs* was inquiſitive what helps there were to carry it on; Mr. *Hill* goes further, that in the preſence of *Stubbs*, it was ſaid there ſhould be no quarter given but ſuch as

Ludlow should have if he were taken. When you come to *Gibbs*, he does deny all the whole matter, and indeed so they would all, and they have nothing to say, but to cry the witnesses have sworn falsely, and God is a Righteous God, and he will require their blood one day; but remember what a horrid protestation was in that Letter that was sent abroad, to Alarm the whole Kingdome, as if a Massacre was intended by the Papists, and the Watch-word they should all rise by, that Letter sayes, *I call the Eternal God to witnesse, that this is no Trepan, but a sober Truth:* Do you think, that men who are not ashamed to call the Eternal God to witnesse to a Lye, when 'tis to raise Sedition, will make any scruple at such protestations at the Bar, when 'tis to save their lives? and if a man may scape by his own protestation, who shall ever be found guilty? But *Gibbs* thinks he sayes a great deal for himself, when he sayes his Neighbours can give great testimony of his good conversation. Alas, who will deny to give a good report of any man till he hear evil proved against him? But do you thing a little demure and sober carriage amongst a mans Neighbours, will serve to ballance an Evidence of high Treason? Is not the proof clear, that he did both know the Design and approve it? Mark what *Gibbs* tells the company.

My brother, saith he, for his part he will not speak before you; but if you be honest men, this is the News that was spoke, like one that was not consenting to it; well then, what is the News? he tells them why, the Council of 6. are broke up, *Fryday* is the day of Action, *Ludlow* is to be General. Can any man be privy to these things, and relate them so cheerfully, and yet not be consenting? believe it, it is a hard matter to find greater evidence of a knowledge, and consent against any Conspirator, until he break out into open action. *Sallers*, he sayes that the witnesses do not agree; for Mr. *Hill* speaks that he said there was 500 Arms delivered, and 40 men went without Arms, but within two or three dayes there would be more: and when *Riggs* comes to speak, he sayes, he did say Arms were delivered, and more would be, but he did not remember what number; and because they agree in the thing, but not in the number, therefore he thinks they disagree in the matter. Observe what reason was there that *Riggs* comes to enquire of *Sallers* for Arms, because *Sallers* told him the day before Arms were delivered, and more would be, he thought, therefore he came to a very proper person to tell him: If you mark, *Sallers* does deny openly in the Court that ever he saw the face of *Hill* till he was apprehended, although *Hill* was with *Riggs* when the Arms were spoken of upon the Exchange: And then he sayes again, that *Hills* speaks by hear-say, he is out in that too; for Mr. *Hill* swears expresly, he heard the words themselves from *Sallers*; Then here are these before you, four witnesses against *Tong*, two against *Phillips*, and his own confession; here is two against *Gibbs*, with these circumstances, if you be honest men this is the news, &c. Here are two witnesses likewise against *Stubbs*, who was likewise present at all their debates, even when the King himself was to have had the same quarter with *Ludlow*. Now Gentlemen, that there was a Conspiracy, I think you have a clear Evidence, we may thank God, and the care of the King and his Ministers, that it went no further, but 'tis no thanks to these men, they would have carried it to the extremity, had they had power, and without question this was formed by other kind of wits then these poor contemptible Agitators, who are now tryed for it; you see there was a Council of 40. and an under Council of 6. a Declaration framed to scatter at the time of action, and that action directed to be both in the City and Country, just in effect at the same pitch of time; and that it might be so, a wicked and an impudent Letter is contrived, and many thousand Copies dispersed, and it wrought so far, that the Countries, much about the time appointed, were in great disorder, as you have heard it proved: Is it not plain that an evil spirit went throughout the whole Nation, and animated the whole party of Malecontents, most evidently it was a terrible Conspiracy: Gentlemen, 'tis true, it is a question of blood, but 'tis Royal blood, 'tis the blood of Princes and Nobles, and it concerns the peace and security of the Kingdome, and every mans propriety, and of

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Religion, for they had left no man of conſcience or reputation behind, if they had prevailed. Conſider the Maſſacre theſe men would have committed, had they proſpered, and oppoſe that to the pretended Maſſacre, which they gave out by their Letter the Papiſts would have committed. Conſider that you have the life of the King in your hands, and I doubt not but he and the whole Kingdome ſhall alwayes be ſafe in the verdicts of honeſt men.

Sir *Robert Foſter.* My Maſters of the Jury, I cannot ſpeak long to you, you underſtand the nature of this buſineſs, ſuch as I think you have not had the like preſident in your time. My ſpeech will not give me leave to diſcourſe of it; for the Witneſſes, they are none but ſuch as may ſatisfy all honeſt men, it is clear they all agreed to ſubvert the Government, to deſtroy His Majeſty: what can you have more? two of the witneſſes are without exception, but I do not ſee any way but their teſtimony is good; for the parties, they in themſelves are very inconſiderable; theſe are but the out-boughs, and if ſuch fellows are not met withal, theſe kind of people are the fitteſt inſtrument to ſet up a *Jack-ſtraw*, and a *Wat-Tyler*, therefore you muſt lop off theſe, or elſe they will encourage others. You ſee one of their own company hath confeſſed the Fact out of remorſe of his own conſcience: But I leave the Evidence to you. Go together.

Officer was Sworn to keep the Jury.

The Jury withdrawed, and after an hours Conſultation, the Jury returned.

Silence was commanded, and *James Hind* fetcht from the Goal to the Bar.

Clerk of the Peace. Gentlemen, anſwer to your names, *Edmund Butler*, *Clement Pung*, and the reſt of the Jury before mentioned, are you all agreed of your Verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Clerk of the Peace. Who ſhall ſay for you?

Jury. The Foreman.

Clerk of the Peace. Set up *Thomas Tong* to the Barr, *Thomas Tong* hold up thy hand, look upon him Maſters, How ſay you? is he guilty of the Treaſon whereof he ſtands indicted, or not guilty?

Jury. Guilty.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Look to him keeper.

Clerk of the Peace. What goods and chattels?

Jury. None.

Clerk of the Peace. *George Phillips* to the Bar, How ſay you? is he guilty of the Treaſon whereof he ſtands indicted, or not guilty?

Jury, Guilty.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Look to him keeper.

Clerk of the Peace. What goods and chattels?

Jury. None.

Clerk of the Peace. *Francis Stubbs* to the Bar, How ſay you? is he guilty of the high Treaſon whereof he ſtands indicted, or not guilty?

Jury. Guilty.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Look to him Keeper.

Clerk of the Peace. What goods and chattels?

Jury. None.

Clerk of the Peace. *John Sallers* to the Bar, How ſay you? is he guilty of the high Treaſon whereof he ſtands indicted, or not guilty?

Jury. Guilty.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Look to him Keeper.

Clerk of the Peace. What goods and chattels?

Jury. None.

Clerk of the Peace. *Nathaniel Gibbs* to the Bar, How say you? is he guilty of the high Treason whereof he ſtands indicted, or not Guilty?

Jury. Guilty.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Look to him Keeper.

Clerk of the Peace. What goods and chattels?

Jury. None.

Clerk of the Peace. Hearken to your Verdict as the Court hath recorded it. You ſay that *Thomas Tong* is guilty of the Treaſon whereof he ſtands indicted, and ſo all the reſt. And you ſay, that they, nor any of them had any Goods or Chattels, Lands or Tenements at the time of committing the ſaid Treaſon, or at any time ſithence to your knowledge, and this you ſay all.

Jury. Yes.

Clerk of the Peace. *Thomas Tong* hold up thy hand, thou haſt been indicted of high Treaſon, thou haſt thereunto pleaded not guilty, and for thy Tryal haſt put thy ſelf upon God and the Country, and the Country hath found thee guilty; what haſt thou to ſay for thy ſelf, why the Court ſhould not proceed to Judgement, and thereupon award execution of thee according to the Law?

Tong. I pray mercy from the King, I cry for mercy from the King.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Tye him up Executioner.

Clerk of the Peace. *George Phillips* hold up thy hand, thou art in the ſame caſe that *Thomas Tong* is, what canſt thou ſay? &c.

Phillips kneeled down and ſaid, I pray the mercy of the King and the Honourable Bench.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Tye him up Executioner.

Clerk of the Peace. *Francis Stubbs* hold up thy hand, thou art in the ſame caſe, the two laſt Priſoners before thee are, what canſt thou ſay? &c.

Stubbs. I beg mercy, I was meerly drawn in.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Tye him up Executioner.

Clerk of the Peace. *John Sallers* hold up thy hand, Thou art, &c. what canſt thou ſay? &c.

Sallers. I would intreat this Honourable Bench to conſider my condition, and what my charge is; I delivered no arms, if I had known where they had been, I would have diſcovered them, I beg mercy from the King and this honourable Bench.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Tye him up Executioner.

Clerk of the Peace. *Nathaniel Gibbs*, hold up thy hand, Thou art, &c. What canſt thou ſay? &c.

Gibbs. And pleaſe this honourable Bench, I have ſomething to ſay, *I* am innocent as to my Conſcience of acting any thing treaſonable againſt his Majeſty, the Lord forgive the witneſſes, *I* beg the mercy of the King.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Tye him up Executioner.

Clerk of the Peace. *James Hind* hold up thy hand, Thou art guilty of the Treaſon whereof thou ſtandeſt indicted by thy own confeſſion, what canſt thou ſay? &c.

Hind. I have nothing to ſay, but humbly beg the mercy of the King.

Clerk of *Newgate*. Tye him up Executioner.

Cryer. O yes, my Lords, the Kings Juſtices command all manner of perſons to keep ſilence while Judgement is in giving upon pain of impriſonment.

Sir *Robert Foſter*. *Thomas Tong*, *George Phillips*, *Francis Stubbs*, *James Hind*, *John Saller*, and *Nathaniel Gibbs*, you ſix Priſoners at the Bar, you have been here indicted for one of the greateſt crimes that can be committed upon earth, as to this world, againſt God, our King, and your Country, and againſt every good body that is in this land for that capital

ſin of high Treaſon, which is a ſin inexpiable, and indeed hath no equal ſin as to this world, upon this you have ſeverally been arraigned, and have ſeverally (except one) pleaded not guilty, and put your ſelves upon God and the Country for your tryals, and your Country have found you guilty; for the five that are found guilty, I muſt ſay, that in you I find little remorſe, little ſenſe of your ſin, for the little man there. *Hind*, he hath much ſhewed his penitency; The manner and circumſtances of this, moſt men here believe, this did not originally ariſe from your particular ſelves, it muſt be put into you by ſome others; you ſpeak as if you deſired mercy, where was your mercy, that would have deſtroyed King and Country, and maſſacred many millions of ſouls, no reſpect of any perſon, but your own Fellows? I ſpeak this, that you may be the more ſenſible of your own Crime, that you may truly out of the remorſe of conſcience, be ſorry for your ſin; you know very well the old councel, and it is a good one, *Fear God, and honour the King, meddle not with them that are given to change.* Medling with them that are given to change, has brought too much miſchief already to this Nation; and if you will commit the ſame ſin, you muſt receive the ſame puniſhment, for happy is he that by other mens harms takes heed: I ſhall not ſpend long time with you, but if you will as much as you can, diſcover the Actors herein, you will do God, the King, and your Country good ſervice; It remains that the Court proceed to Judgement, and therefore you ſix, the one by his own confeſſion, and other five by conviction of Law: the Judgement of this Court is, That you be conveyed back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to be drawn upon an Hurdle to the Place of Execution, and there you ſhall be hanged by the neck, and being alive ſhall be cut down, and your privy Members to be cut off, your Entrails to be taken out of your Body, and (you living) the ſame to be burnt before your eyes, and your head to be cut off, your body to be divided into four quarters, and your head and quarters to be diſpoſed of at the pleaſure of the Kings Majeſty, And God have mercy upon your Souls.

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THE CONFESSIONS, SPEECHES, and PRAYERS,

OF

George Phillips, *Nathaniel Gibbs*,
Thomas Tonge, *Francis Stubb.*

At the place of Execution, on *Monday*, Decemb. 22. 1662.

The Manner of Conveying the Prisoners to the Place of Execution; and their Behaviour there before they began to Speak.

THE 22. *Decemb. Thomas Tonge*, *George Phillips*, *Francis Stubbs* and *Nathaniel Gibbs*, were according to a late Sentence, drawn on two Hurdles, *viz. Tonge* and *Phillips* in one, and *Stubbs* and *Gibbs* in the other, to the common place of Execution at *Tyburn*: Where being come, they were received into a Cart under the Gallowes; and the Executioner desiring them severally to forgive him, they all declared they did freely forgive him and all their enemies, and did severally salute each other with this Phrase, *Welcome, Brother*; and to one another said, We are now lanching into the deep. They being all tied up, *Phillips* gave the Executioner a small summe of Money, and the rest directed the Executioner to take out of their pockets a small parcel of mony, as their gift to him; and *Phillips* afterwards bended a Six-pence, and presented it to a friend of his, Mr. *Stroud*; and a Shilling likewise bended to one Mr. *Clark*. Then the Under-Sheriff of *Middlesex* acquainted them, they had all free liberty to speak, provided they did not reflect upon his Majesty or the present Government; which they all promised not to do, and thanked him for his civility; and then *Phillips* began in manner following.

Friends and Country-men,

I Am come this day to pay that great debt that I owe to Nature; it is a work that had need be well done, for it is but once to be done. My hope is now above: and for what I now come to suffer, for my own part I bless God, in whose presence I now speak as a dying man, I had not any murderous thought against the King; but I have prayed for him, and wished that he might Live and Reign, and long Reign in Righteousness; and that God would make his Crown, a Crown of Righteousness upon his Head, and bless him in his Government, so that he may not know any of these occasions more: for my part, I have ventured my life for his Majesty; it was far from my heart to do any thing of that nature; The Lord receive my soul. I freely forgive all men, as I hope to be forgiven of God: I never did act any thing, but onely this, which was my ignorance of the Laws, that I did not discover it; and I was justly found guilty for not discovering. I have done, Mr. Sheriff; but hope, after my Brethren have spoken, we may have liberty to call upon the Lord.

Und. Sher. It will not be denied you.

Then

Then Mr. *Tonge* began in this manner.

Friends and Country-men,

YOu ſee me here a dying man: I have ſometimes been in ſome mens company, where I have heard them contriving the buſineſs for which I am condemned to die; and that which led me to joyn with then was this, I was, and had been ſometimes in the Army; and I have looked upon this Cauſe to be good, As for his Majeſty, the Lord bleſs him, and proſper him, and put it into his heart, that he may be a Nurſing-Father indeed to this Country.

Und. Sher. Have you any more to ſay? you may ſpeak.

Tonge. I have nothing more.

And then *Gibbs* proceeded and ſaid.

COuntrey-men and Friends, and I hope Chriſtians, and the laſt conſideration is that that makes me the more free to ſpeak to you: we all profeſs to own God and Jeſus Chriſt to be our Saviour, our Redeemer, our Sanctifier, and giver of, and beſtower upon us Eternal Life; this ſhould excite our Souls to love one another; and upon the account of Gods love, that God has ſo loved us as to give Jeſus Chriſt, to reconcile us ſinners to God, we ought to love one another, it is his great command. Truly as to the Cauſe for which I am brought here, God the great Judge of Heaven and Earth, before whom I ſtand, knows, that in the place where I have lived, I behaved my ſelf as an obedient Subject, and when there was an Inſurrection by the *Fifth-Monarchy* men, I went out in my own perſon, though I had Servants as well as others, purely out of affection to his Majeſty, knowing that in the peace of his Govovernment I ſhould have peace, and ſo I went out hazarded my life, and continued out till all was quiet. I was at a neighbours houſe drinking of a cup of Beer on Tueſday night in the Kitchin alone, ſave only the man of the houſe and the maid; theſe men came in, one *Hill* and *Riggs* that are the witneſſes againſt me, there was *Riggs* and *Hills* and this *Stubbs*, and one *Beazeley*, and I being alone in the Kitchin, they asked for one *Gibbs*; the people of the houſe told me there were ſome Gentlemen would ſpeak with me, I wiſhed them to direct them to me, and they came to me; and through the ignorance of the Law, which it ſeems runs thus, If any words treaſonable againſt his Majeſty is ſpoken, it is Treaſon to conceal it; ſo thus I have given you in part the cauſe of my being here.

Hereupon information was given to the Kings Majeſty, that I ſhould ſay there would be a Riſing, and that *Al-hollows* Eve was the time; that there were arms ſent into the Countrey, and that *Ludlow* was to be General; and this was charged upon me by the Kings Majeſty when I came before him to be examined: and upon *Hills* and *Rigg's* Oath, I was ſent to the *Tower*, and kept a long time a Priſoner, examined three or four times over by the Lords of his Majeſties Council; I have one word more, As touching my Judgement, I am reputed in the world to be one of thoſe that is called by the name of *Anabaptiſt*, a name of deriſion and ſcorn, One is an *Anabaptiſt*, one an *Independent*, one a *Presbyterian*, one this, and one that, and one the other, who gave theſe nick-names to Chriſtians? There is but one God, one Lord Jeſus, one Baptiſm, one Hope of Glory: How comes the Body of Chriſt, or the Members of Chriſt to be called theſe nick-names? But now, as I am one that do profeſs Faith in God through the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and do ſtand before you all, and before the Lord, I know no other God, but the Eternal and Living God, that hath made the World, and that Rules and Reigns, and diſpoſes all his Creatures; I do believe in this God, he has been gracious to me a poor ſinner, and to all poor ſinners, that

when we by reason of sin had forfeited all our mercies, and were under wrath and everlasting destruction, and must perish for ever; that God did out of his rich grace and tender mercies give his only begotten Son, according to his promise, to be the blessing of God to the poor Gentiles according as the Scripture did declare; the Scripture foreseeing that God would justifie the Heathens through faith, preached before the Gospel to *Abraham*, saying, In thee shall all the Nations of the earth be blessed: he speaks not of the natural seed of *Abraham*, but of Christ, so that all the blessings that God did convey to the sinful world is by the means of Jesus Christ, whom God in the fulness of time did send his Son born of a woman, to redeem poor sinners under the Law, and herein was the great grace and mercy of God towards all sinners, that he was so gracious to send his beloved Son out of his own bosom to take our natures upon him, who was defiled, and cursed, and condemned, and separated from God. I say, Jesus Christ took our natures upon him, and for this very end to do the will of his heavenly Father, *Lo it is written in the volume of thy book*, I come to do thy will, O God, and it was his meat and drink to do his will; and what was that, but that we might be sanctified through the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ for our sins, to tread the winepress of his Fathers wrath, and to endure the cross, and bear all our sins in his own body, that made his soul heavy unto death: he was a surety for us and our sins, and for our sakes the Lord laid on him the iniquity of us all, and he hath born our grief and endured our punishment, it made his soul cry out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, or else we must for ever be banished out of the presence of God, and never have any hopes of glory, of faith, or of salvation, had not the Son of God become our Mediatour and Surety, so there is one God, and one Mediatour, the Man Christ Jesus. He gave himself a ransom for all our sins, to free us from the wrath to come, everlasting destruction, and from the worm that never dies. O that we could ever be thankful to God, live to him that hath so loved us, as to send his Son to die for us, and is by the almighty power of God raised from the dead, and now sits at the right hand of God, and ever lives to make intercession.

Truly friends, this is not the love of man, but the love of God, and therefore eternal love. God so loved the world; it is Gods love, he loved sinners, ungodly ones; he did so love them as to give his onely begotten Son to save them, to reconcile them, to uphold them, to redeem them from wrath to come: it was to seek and save them that were lost. This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. We all like sheep had gone astray, and must perish in our sins, had not the Lord Jesus been sent of his Father, out of his bosome to declare the good will of God, and did it, by which we are sanctified through the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ; and this Lord Jesus Christ the eternal Son of God, he is the Mediatour between God and poor sinners. Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden sayes Christ, and I will give you rest; now this grace is from God, we are saved by grace, and that not of our selves, it is the gift of God, through faith in Christ we are saved, and all things that do pertain to life and godliness is the gift of God; now all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses unto him. Would you know the forgiveness of your sins, your peace with God, and that God is well pleased with you? God is reconciled by Jesus Christ unto you, and does not impute your sins unto you, but looks on the righteousness of Christ as satisfaction, that thereby you might have the remission of your sins through the blood of Christ. Be it known unto all men, that through this mans preaching, the forgiveness of sins, *Acts* 13. 38, 39. and by him all that do believe are justified from all things, from which they could not be by the Law of *Moses*; now justification from sin, and redemption from iniquity, is through the knowledge of Christs death for your sins, and his resurrection, and now there is no other name given under heaven whereby we can be saved, but by the name of Jesus, and whosoever believeth in his name shall not perish, but have everlasting life. *Joh.* 5. 24. It is the doctrine of

Jesus

Jesus Christ, it is his word, and *I* hope you will search the Scriptures, and look into those things for your souls good, when Christ sayes, Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my words and believeth them, he hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death to life. The reason why God does assure poor sinners they shall not pass into everlasting condemnation and perish, is through his rich grace, through his promise; for he hath promised, he will be merciful to our iniquities, and our sins will remember no more; and these his promises of grace which are all Yea and Amen in Christ, are ratified by the blood of Christ; the blood of Christ is the blood of the New Covenant, and it is that by which we have the forgiveness, remission and cleansing of all our sins.

Undersheriff. Mr. *Gibbs*, let me interrupt you, this is very good and pertinent, but you have said these things over and over, there is another of your friends is to speak, and the time grows short, pray go on to the matter, or conclude.

Gibbs. I shall speak a word or two as to the knowledge of forgiveness of sins, by and through Jesus Christ; and so the knowledge of the Resurrection of the dead, it is the fruit of Jesus Christ; for by the first man came death, and by the second man Christ came life, and God that has by his exceeding great and mighty power, raised up Jesus Christ from the grave and power of sin, he also shall raise us up by the same power, and when he comes again the second time, at his appearing and coming, we shall see him, and be made like to him, and he will receive us to himself; he is gone to prepare a place for us, and in his Fathers house are many mansions, and if it were not so, he would have told us: and now God that hath given eternal life, and forgiveness of sins unto his poor servants, he will also, when Jesus Christ shall come to judge the world, receive him into his everlasting glory, which is my faith, expectation and hope, in God through Jesus Christ. A man may bear his infirmities, but a wounded conscience who can bear? when God smites, who can bear? and therefore I desire, as I believe the forgiveness of all my sins, through the rich grace of God, through the bloodshed of Jesus Christ his Son; every one must give account to God, and as their works are, so will their reward be: either accepted by God, as workers of Christ, or condemned, as workers of iniquity. Last of all, as to the separated Congregations to whom I belong; I have observed in those few daies that I have lived, there is a great deal of animosity, evil will, hard censuring, and abusing the precious Saints of Jesus Christ. If they are in an error, you that are in the truth instruct them, and you may recover them out of the claws of the Devil: Are you Christians and have the light of God in your souls? O then strengthen your Brethren, do not give them nick-names, and abuse them; that's not the way, Christ teaches another lesson, *That if thine enemy hunger you should feed them, and if he be a thirsty give him drink*; we should pray to the Lord that he would turn those that be out of his way, into the right way.

Undersheriff. You know we must be all subject to Government, every Congregation must not have a Ruler, their meetings are prohibited by good Authority, and because they will not be obedient to good Government.

Gibbs. I do not say, that every Congregation must have a Ruler, and I hope I speak the words of sobriety, I hope you will put a charitable construction upon what I say. As to the Magistrates I have a word or two.

Undersheriff. Speak well of them.

Gibbs. Be not afraid, *I* will not speak any evil of them, Magistracy is an Ordinance of God, and the end of Magistracy, is for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well; and for this purpose, *I* do desire that the Lord would give to the supreme Magistrate here on earth, wisdom and understanding, a wise Council, a Council fearing God, and hating covetousness, that they may study to exalt the Throne of the King in righteousness and truth; O that we may all praise the Lord for deliverance out of condemnation; and I say it is the duty of all the subjects of the Kings Majesty, in all his Kingdoms and Dominions to live peaceably, and to pray for the Kings Majesty: Pray-

ers and interceſſions ought to be made for all men, eſpecially for Kings and Governours, for this very end and purpoſe, that thereby we may live in all quietneſs, godlineſs, honeſty and Juſtice; and to this very end the Lord bleſs our Magiſtracy, give them council and wiſdom, that they may love them that love the Lord, and hate them that hate the Lord.

After *Gibbs* had done ſpeaking, then *Stubbs* began, who went over all the particulars of his Tryal at large, to which for breveties ſake we refer you, only ſaith he as followeth,

Friends and Countrey-men,

IT is true, and I muſt confeſs my ſin in the preſence of God, (and did ask mercy of the King) that I was in the company when I did hear wicked and treaſonable words ſpoken, and I being ignorant, and not knowing the Law, did not diſcover what I did hear.

As to my Judgement, truly I deſire to own what the Scriptures own; I ſhall ſpeak of that place in the *Hebrews*, which is the command of Chriſt, *I* deſire the Churches and people, every one to live the life of faith, and love one another, *I* am confident it would be a means of abundance of comfort here in the Nation; there is a kind of heart-burning and riſing one againſt another, you are ſo and ſo, throw dirt one againſt the other; it is our and your duty, ſtill to be ſtudying to live in love, and bear with one another, not be angry, deſtroy, and fight one with another: O that we might live that life of love that God has commanded, then we may expect the preſence of God to be with us; ſurely God hath a great Judgement againſt his own people for not loving one another.

Phillips. Mr. Sheriff, I have only one word to ſpeak before *I* go to my Prayers; that is, Here *I* ſee ſome Gentlemen preſent that are in the capacity that *I* was in, as a Soldier; *I* ſay, be faithful to your truſt, and beg of God that you may ſtand faſt, and not diſhonour God nor be diſobedient to the King; when the Fifth-Monarchy men were up, *I* was free and willing to lay down my life for the intereſt of the Nation: and did venture it as much as any young man in *London*; Therefore good friends, have a care, *I* am now brought to ſuffer, it is true *I* was guilty of concealing it, *I* deſire your prayers, that now as we are going to the ſtate of eternity, from whence there is no redemption, *I* humbly beſeech you, as Chriſtians and friends, That you would ſeek earneſtly to God that now he may receive our ſouls into everlaſting reſt and happineſs, which he has been pleaſed to beſtow on them that love him and fear him; and the Lord knows my heart, *I* ſpeak it in his preſence, that had the King been pleaſed to ſhew mercy to me, *I* ſhould have been a faithful and true ſubject to him all my dayes, but ſeeing it is the righteous hand of God, that now *I* am come to this untimely death, *I* deſire you to lift up your hearts and ſouls to God with me, that when my ſoul ſhall leave this body, that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt may with his everlaſting arms receive me to glory: There is no redemption after death, we ſhall either go to eternal woe or eternal happineſs, therefore good friends, *I* deſire you to look up to God, that when my ſoul departs, it may be received to glory.

Mr.

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Mr. *Phillips* his Prayer.

O Eternal Lord God, thou that art the great Creator of Man-kind, and thou that formedst him in the womb, hear thy poor and sinful creature now he is coming to make his last approaches to thy throne. O that thou wouldst be pleased to look down in mercy upon my Soul: O Lord that thou wouldst be pleased now to take my soul and wash it, and bathe it in the blood of Jesus Christ, who hath died and risen again for me: O that now I could see the heavens opened, and Jesus Christ ready to receive my soul; Be pleased O Lord to look upon me in thy tender mercie and compassion: and as thou hast said, thou dost not delight in the death of a sinner, therefore good Lord look down upon my poor soul, and receive me into the everlasting mansions which Jesus Christ is gone before to prepare for all them that love thee. O Lord we are now going, I hope, to an estate of happiness, where we shall sin and sorrow no more, but where we shall ever reign with Jesus Christ. O Lord had we not some hopes, had we not some sight of the Lord Jesus Christ made known to our souls, we durst not appear before thee this day, we durst not stand before thee in thy presence: O that thou wouldest more and more manifest thy gracious presence with me; that thou wouldst uphold me to take this bitter cup and drink it freely. O Lord, I desire to come unto thee; I have been a great sinner before thee, but Jesus Christ has died, is risen, and is now at the right hand of his Father, making intercession for us. And good Lord, as thou hast commanded us to come unto thee, and to believe in thee, and hast said, thou wilt in no wise cast off the soul that comes unto thee, in confidence of that hope, I desire to fix my soul upon thee before I go hence, and be no more. Bow down the heavens, O Lord, and hear the request, of the poor soul before thee, and I beseech thee for Christ his sake, as thou wouldst forgive me, so freely forgive all men that have done evil against me. Be pleased to let the Kings Majestie reign in righteousness and holiness; put a spirit of power and might in his soul, and let him see wherein the stability of his Crown lies, in following Righteousness and Justice and Judgement, and preserving of that Truth that is made known to him out of the book of the Lord. Come down, Lord, to his soul, and let him see wherein is his hope, and O that he may at last live and reign with Jesus Christ for evermore. Good Lord look upon me, I am coming unto thee, these are my last words. O that thou wouldst be pleased to receive us this day, that we may dine with thee in Paradise; make known thy everlasting kindness to my soul before I go hence and be no more, that I may receive that comfort and satisfaction which I have longed and looked for. Lord my hope is in thee, thou wilt not fail them that put their trust in thee, in thee is my trust and confidence; if I perish, I will perish at the feet of Jesus Christ. O that thou wouldst humble me, and seal up the pardon of my sins before I go hence, and let thy Son Jesus Christ manifest his gracious presence with me, and cloath me with that wedding garment of his righteousness, and then take me into his arms, and present me to his Father. O that thou wouldst be pleased to strengthen and uphold me under this great stroke which thou hast been pleased to inflict upon me; I kiss the rod, and receive it thankefully from thy hand. I had been undone to all eternity, hadst thou not afflicted me, blessed be thy Name, that thou hast been pleased to send Jesus Christ, upon him I depend, upon him I cast my confidence, who is the rock of ages, and never failed any that came to him. Hear me and answer me, do for me and all thy Churches and people abundantly above what I can ask or think, and all for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with thy self and thy holy Spirit be all honour, power, and praise, henceforth and for evermore, Amen.

Mr. Tong *his Prayer.*

O Most Glorious, and Eternal Lord God, thou that hast created the heavens and the earth, and formedst of dust us thy poor creatures, to which we are now returning. Lord I beseech thee speak peace to my poor soul, lift up the light of thy countenance upon me, and let me see in thee, and through faith in thy deer Son Jesus Christ, that I am in covenant with

thee, and reconciled to thee. Holy Lord, I beſeech thee let me ſee thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt ſitting at thy right hand reconciling of me to thy ſelf. Let me find my ſoul waſhed in the blood of the Covenant of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt. Seal a pardon to me thy poor creature; O Lord, one ſmile of thy countenance is worth all the world; bleſſed be thy Name that thou haſt ſupported me hitherto. Lord God I beſeech thee finiſh thy good work thou haſt begun in me, and go along with me, and ſtrengthen and uphold me to drink of this bitter cup. Be with me to the end. Remember the Governours of this Nation. O that thou wouldſt ſhowr down upon the King and Council thy mercies, as thou ſhowreſt down rain on the ground, that they may rule for thee, and thoſe that fear thy Name may live in happineſs and peace under thee, for the ſake of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt. O Lord we pray thee remember all thy people, and be good to them, and deliver them out of all their troubles, and ſpeak peace to them, and let them know thou wilt deliver them. Keep me to the end, and uphold me by thy right hand, and ſo receive me with joy for the ſake of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, to whom be all honour and power henceforward and for evermore. Amen.

Mr. Gibbs his Prayer.

O Eternal, Everliving and everloving God, who art a reconciled and loving Father, unto thy poor unworthy Creatures before thee; and unto all the children, whom thou haſt called to believe in thee. O Lord, this is no ſmall priviledge that ſinful duſt and aſhes, mortal worms, ſhould have to do and to deal with ſo Holy and infinite a God, as thou art, to make requeſts unto thee, conſidering the vaſt diſproportion that there is between thee, and poor ſinners: Thou art of purer eyes then to behold any unclean thing in thy preſence, O Lord. We our ſelves are nothing but polluted rags, and fountains of uncleaneſs, from the crown of the head to the ſole of the foot; all the faculties of the ſoul and members of the body, are all members of unrighteouſneſs. Were it not therefore, that thou haſt been pleaſed to give us good hopes, and found out a way to hold communion with us, which is through the Lord Jeſus, in whom thou art well pleaſed, in whom thou haſt ſpoke forgiveneſs of ſins to our ſouls, we durſt not now ſtand before thee but thou haſt promiſed, that though our ſins are as ſcarlet, thou wilt make them as white as ſnow; and though they be as crimſon, thou wilt make them as wool. Thou haſt opened a fountain of free grace, and eternal mercy for poor ſinners; that through the blood of the Lord Jeſus, they may receive remiſſion, forgiveneſs, cleanſing and purging from all their ſinnes. Thou haſt laid an All-ſufficient help upon him, who is able to ſave to the uttermoſt, all that come to God by him. We have nothing of our ſelves to bring unto God, but ſins to pardon, and unclean ſouls to purge: Thou haſt been pleaſed to give thy Son, and together with him, freely to give us all things: Thou

Thou haſt given thy poor ſervant before thee, faith that has brought ſalvation to his ſoul: Thou haſt ſaved him by thy free-grace; not of works, but through the mercies and blood of Jeſus Chriſt; and haſt ſprinkled the vertue of the blood of Chriſt in his conſcience, in the belief of the truth, as it is in Jeſus. O bleſſed by thy Name, that ſent him to ſeek, and to ſave us from condemnation; who is riſen with healing in his wings, and haſt ſet Chriſt before us, that we ſhould behold him that our ſins have peirced. Certainly great was that diſeaſe that needed ſuch a medicine; that nothing could expiate and take away our ſins, and blot out the hand-writing that was againſt us, but the precious blood of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as of a Lamb without ſpot; he is now become our peace, who has made peace for us, through the blood of that his Croſs, and has made twain, one in himſelf, Jew and Gentile. He was delivered up for our offences, and roſe again for our juſtification: We in the knowledge of him, being juſtified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And bleſſed be thy Name, O merciful God, that has made ſuch a Covenant of everlaſting grace to poor ſinners, and the children that do believe in thee, through Jeſus Chriſt. Thou haſt ſaid, thou wilt be merciful to all our iniquities and ſins, and wilt remember them no more: Theſe are thy promiſes, and they are Yea and Amen in Chriſt Jeſus. Thou haſt made thy ſervant to hear thy voice in thy Son: Thou haſt been a merciful God to him, and forgiven him all his ſinnes, and juſtified him freely through the reſurrection of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Who ſhall condemn us, or lay any thing to our Charge? It is God that juſtifies, who gave himſelf a ranſom for our ſins, is riſen again, and now ſits at the right Hand of God, ever living and making interceſſion for us; whoſe blood ſpeaks better things than the blood of Abel: *His blood cryed for vengeance, but the blood of Chriſt cries for peace and forgiveneſs. God is in Chriſt reconciling himſelf unto the world, not imputing their treſpaſſes: He hath made him to be ſin for us, who knew no ſin, that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him. Bleſſed be thy Name, that thou haſt ſent thy holy Child Jeſus, to be the propitiation, not only for our ſins, but for the ſins of the whole world. He hath ſuffered the juſt for the unjuſt, that he might bring us unto God. O do thou therefore help thy poor ſervants before thee, and all thy children: Give us to ſee the removal of eternal death, by the death of the Lord Jeſus. Let us ſee thee at peace with us, and juſtifying of us, through thy grace. All have ſinned, and come ſhort of thy glory; but being juſtified through the redemption of Chriſt Jeſus, whom God hath ſet forth to be a propitiation for the ſins of the whole world. Thou haſt promiſed, that whoſoever believeth in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, thy grace, thy mercy, thy love ſhall not periſh, but have everlaſting life; and thou haſt given to thy poor ſervant exceeding great and precious promiſes, and by thy own ſpirit, bringing whom theſe promiſes, given him to believe the Records thou haſt given of thy Son; which beareth witneſs, that God is reconciled to him, and well pleaſed with him in Chriſt Jeſus, and given him eternal life. And ſeeing thou haſt hid his ſoul in*

Jeſus

Jesus Christ, when he shall appear, then shall we appear with him in glory, and be made like to our Lord Jesus Christ: By the same power that thou raisest up Jesus Christ from the dead, by the same power thou art able to subdue all things. There is nothing impossible with God; what ever thou hast promised, shall be performed; Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but one title of thy word shall not fail: And therefore blessed be thy Name, that thou hast revealed these things to thy poor and unworthy Creature; that thou art his God and Father; that thou wilt never leave him, nor forsake him; and thou hast hid his life in Christ, and wrote his name in the Book of the Jesus Christ; and he rejoyceth that he knows he is his, who is the onely true God: Knows thou art well pleased with him, and justified him freely from all his sins, accepted him, in and through the Lord Jesus Christ. O therefore, dear Father, do thou receive his soul according to thy promise, that he may be thine, and thou his God. O blessed Father, do thou be pleased to do good to all thy people: And now, dear Father, take care of our families, be thou a Husband to our yoke-fellows, a Father to the fatherless: Do them good abundantly above what we are able to ask or think; and what is wanting, and lost by our removal, do thou hand out to them, thy mercy and grace, and move the hearts of the children of men, to do them good: Be thou their God, help them, and provide for them: Seal up thy loving kindness to them, not onely for this life, but for the life to come.

Do good to our Magistrates; thou who hast the hearts of all men, make such as are about them, men fearing God and hating covetousness, that may judge for God, that he may have glory. O be pleased to let his Majesty Rule and Reign in righteousness; let his Throne be established in Righteousness, and reveal the choicest of thy blessings to His poor soul: manifest Christ Jesus, and him crucified to Him; and give Him to see the most precious blood of Christ, cleansing him from all sins. Bind up his soul in the bundle of everlasting life; Crown Him with a Crown of Righteousness, as well as with an earthly Crown: Let him be a Nursing Father, and Nursing Mother indeed, to this Nation; that He may hate the evil doer, and be a praise to them that do well. Do good to every one of us; O help us, that we may first seek the Kingdome of God. First, believe in God, and then honour our King: First, fear God and serve him, and then give to Cesar, that which is Cesars. Give unto the King, that which is the Kings; Give Him all obedience to live quietly in all godliness and honesty: And now, O Lord, do thou take away that spirit of emulation and strife, and malice; From whence comes wars? come they not from our lusts? The Lord remove pride, prejudice, and malice from us, and cause us to love one another: The Lord teach every one in their places, to walk continually, to the glory and praise of God; that we professing the name of Christians, may be enabled to walk humbly and meekly; to do good, to walk uprightly, and to love mercy, and then certainly we may expect that blessing that God hath promised to them that believe in him, which is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Mr.

GUILDHALL LONDON

PRecious and Eternal Lord God, in thy presence, O Lord, are we, and in the presence of thy Son, and of thy Holy Angels, and in the presence of this great multitude that now is beholding us poor objects, poor worms, poor dust and ashes; and truly Lord, we were not able to lift up our heads this day, except thou didst come in by thy mighty Power. O Lord, help us to see the Heavens opened this day; and that the Arms of our Christ may be opened to receive our poor souls. O Lord, we are forbidding farewel to the world, farewel to the creature enjoyments; farewell to every thing: and now Lord we are going home to thy dear and precious self; draw forth our souls, and enlarge our hearts after thee, that we may be in pursuit of our God; our souls long for the Lord, as the Hart longs or pants after the water brooks. Lord appear in this hour; this is a great Tryal, that thy poor creatures are brought to. Now come and smile upon thy poor worms: O that thou wouldst communicate thy self unto us; the Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon our precious souls, be a precious God to us, and a dear and loving Father; thou hast not left poor souls in the dark, in such an hour as this; O that thou wouldest communicate thy self unto us; we are now departing and dying, good Father, we pray thee, that we may have the spiritual life communicated to our souls. Look in mercy upon every heart here in thy presence; O that their souls may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ: thou hast given Christ to die for us, whilst creatures here; thy blood is able to wash and make me clean; O there is no spot, no dye, but the blood of Jesus is able to take it away. O Lord help us, that we may dye in the love of Jesus Christ: And good Lord, we desire that thou wouldst look in mercy upon him that is the Officer and Executioner of these poor worms; and as he is to wash his hands in our blood, O Lord wash his soul in the blood of the Lamb of God. Father, thou knowest we desire the good of his soul; we forgive him; and we desire to forgive every one. And dear Lord, we desire thee to look upon the King, communicate the riches of thy mercy unto his Majestie; we desire his soul may be saved; thou hast the hearts of all Kings in thy hand, draw forth his heart, that he may love those things that pleaseth thee, and love them that thou lovest; Let him be established in righteousness, and let Justice and Judgement run down the streets of England as a mighty stream. We pray thee to carry forth our souls to pray for every Relation; beget love in all sorts of people, that they may live the life of love, that when they depart this life, they may enjoy the blessed Comforter, the Lord Jesus Christ. And, dear Lord, thou art pleased to give us a taste of thy love this day; Lord thou hast given us a pardon, blessed be thy Majesty for it; thou hast given us a reprieve for our souls, we are delivered from death to life, we hope when we depart this world, we shall enjoy those blessed mansions to all eternity. And gracious Father, we desire to bless thee, for

thee

[illegible] have had [illegible] have been Officers here; Lord make it up to them; And we desire to bless thee for it. O the riches, and the height of the grace of God, and the love of Jesus Christ to poor sinners! We may see, that thou wouldst be pleased to look in mercy upon this poor Nation, O that thou would unite their hearts in love together, O that there might not be any more differences or hatred; Unite their hearts in love and obedience, that they may fear God, honour the King, that they may desire in all righteousness and holiness, to do those things that are according to thy mind and will: And gracious Father, thou canst not abide Hypocrites, the Lord cause souls to love holiness, and the power of godliness, that they may not shrowd themselves under the profession, when there is reality. Look in mercy upon all the Churches of Jesus Christ; communicate thy mercy and love to them: be pleased to be with us this day, and go along with us. O that we may bless thee with our souls, and all that is within us. Be with us, and do for us, more then we are able to ask or think, upon the account of Jesus Christ, in whom thou art well pleased, to whom be all praise and glory now and for ever, Amen.

AFter which, their Caps being severally pulled over their Faces, and after some private Ejaculations, the Executioner caused the Cart to be drawn away; and after they had hanged a while, they were severally headed and quartered according to their Sentence, and their heads and quarters conveyed in a Basket to *Newgate*, to be disposed of at the Kings pleasure.

Which he was graciously pleased thus to dispose of;

Their several Quarters to be buried, which was accordingly done on *Saturday*-night, *December* 27.

Their heads to be set on several Poles, Two on the one *Tower-Hill*, and two on the other, as neer the *Tower* as may be.

FINIS.

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